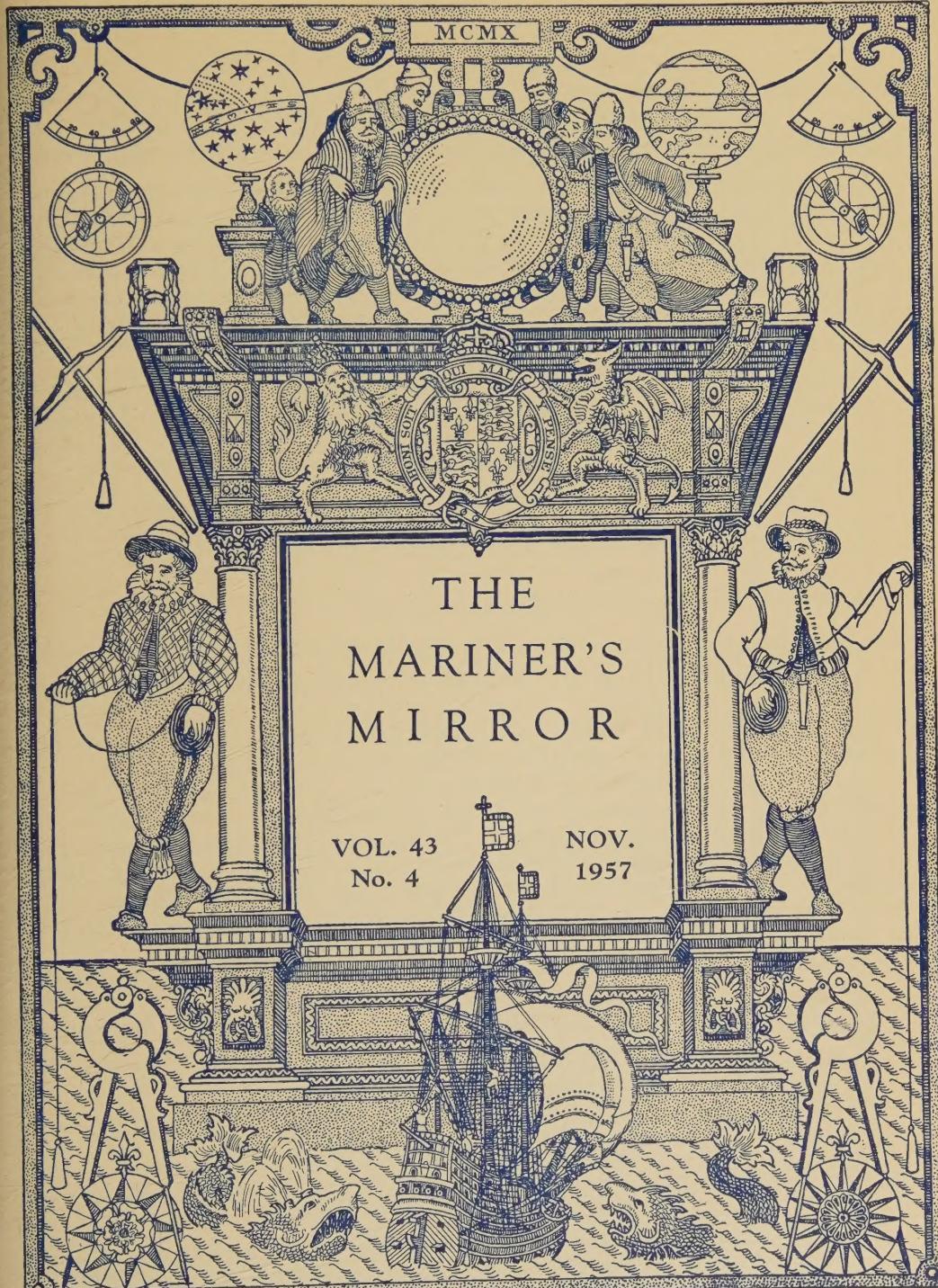


THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL of the SOCIETY FOR NAUTICAL RESEARCH



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To encourage research into nautical antiquities, into matters relating to seafaring and shipbuilding in all ages and among all nations, into the language and customs of the sea, and into other subjects of nautical interest.

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Names of ships should be underlined to denote *italics*, and not written within inverted commas.

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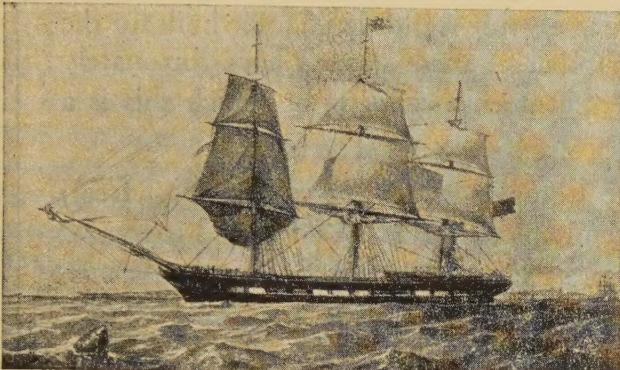
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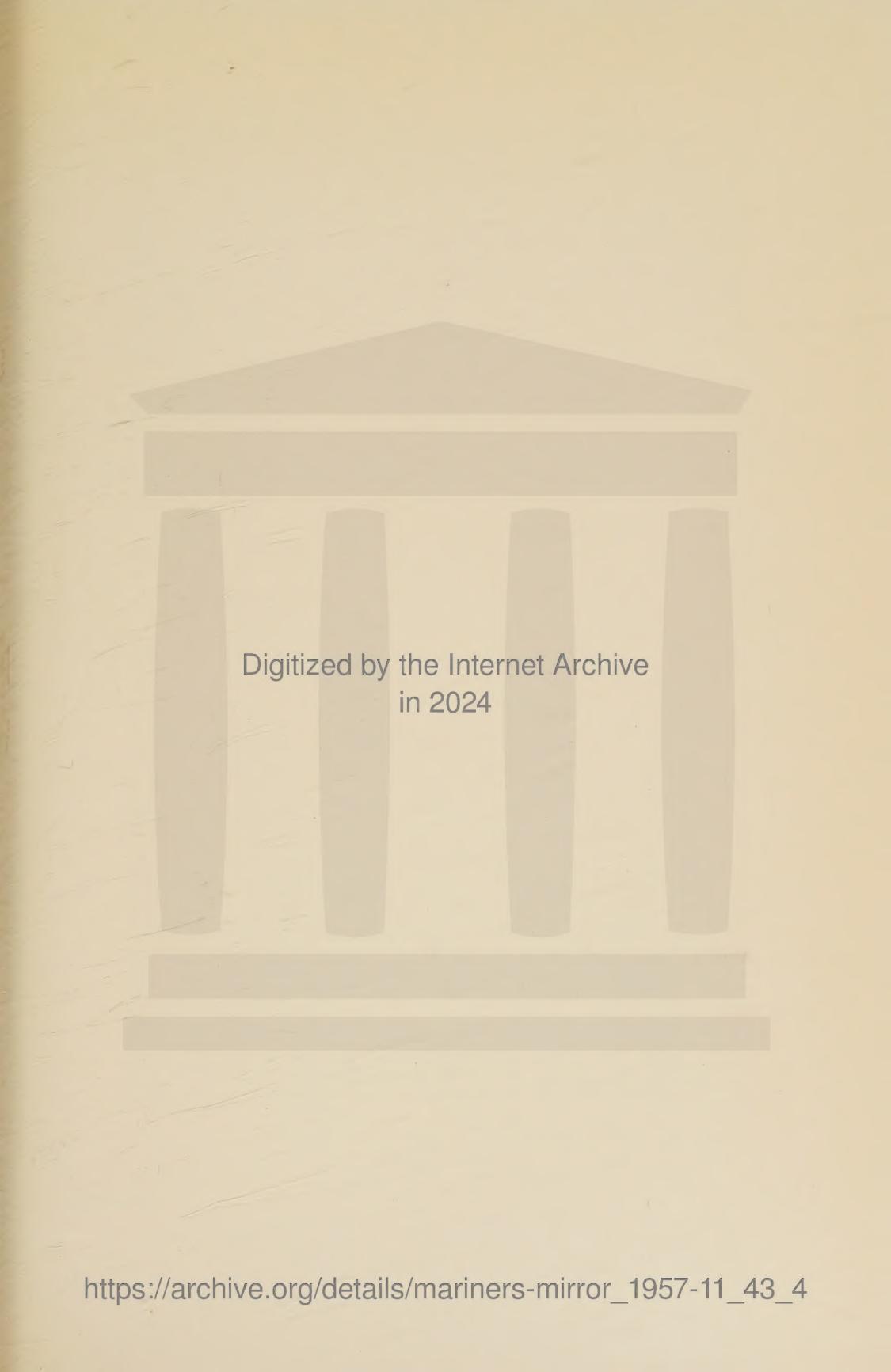
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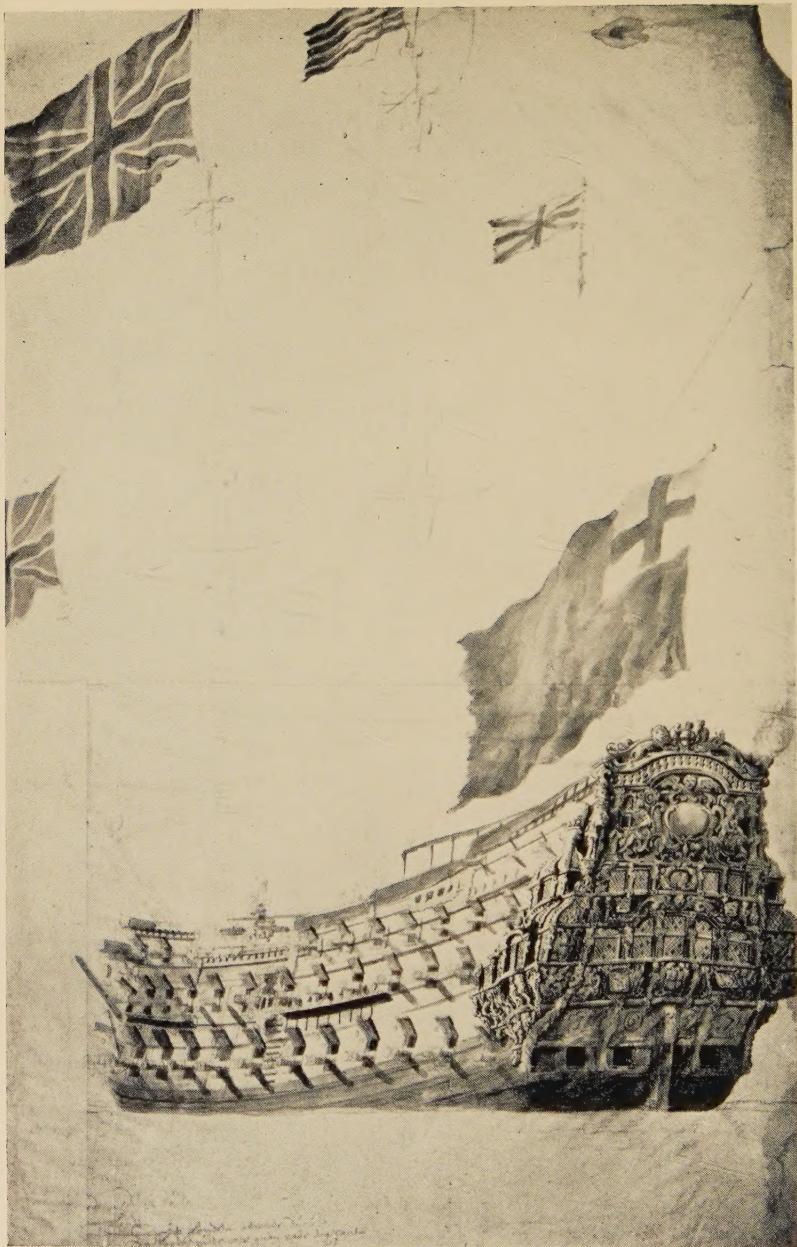
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The MARINER'S MIRROR

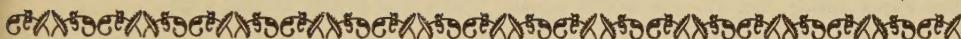
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*after the manner of their
use in all ages and
among all
Nations*



VOL. 43. NO. 4

1957



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CORRECTIONS Vol. 43

P. 62, Note 5, for BLOWES read Clowes.	P. 67, Line 40, for VOLENTE read Volonte.
P. 65, Line 6, for Veers read jeers.	P. 76, Line 27, for KAEYL'S read Kaye's.
End Paper, inside, line 21. For British Coastal Crafts read British Coastal Craft.	

EDITORIAL

The President's address at the Annual General Meeting held on 19 June, will be printed in full in the Annual Report for 1957 and will thus be available to members some time next summer.

One subject dealt with by Dr Anderson, is, however, of so important a nature and of such interest to members of the Society that it is considered not out of place to give a brief outline of what he said for those who were not present at the meeting.

When Mr L. G. Carr Laughton, the first Editor of the *Mariner's Mirror*, died, he left a collection of transcripts, notes and unfinished studies bearing on subjects with which our Society is concerned. These, through the kindness of his sister, were handed to Dr Anderson, who deposited them in the National Maritime Museum. Laughton also left all the material he had assembled over 45 years towards the 'Complete and Scholarly nautical Encyclopaedia or Dictionary' which our Society, by Rule 2, has pledged itself to produce, consisting, as Laughton himself estimated, of perhaps 10,000 slips with 25,000 references. Dr Anderson thought that the time had come to redeem that pledge and suggested that we might aim at 1960, the jubilee of our foundation, as a suitable date for its publication.

Although some of his hearers were sceptical, the great majority were in full support, while some were so greatly impressed by the suggestion that a Publications Committee Meeting has been called to make a preliminary study of the many aspects of the problem and to report its findings and recommendations to the Council.

G. R. G. WORCESTER

THE QUEEN'S SEA FLAGS

By *A. Peacock*

Whenever the Sovereign shall embark in any ship of war, the Royal Standard shall be hoisted at the main, the flag of the Lord High Admiral at the fore, and the Union flag at the mizzen of such ship; or if on board a vessel with less than three masts they shall be hoisted in the most conspicuous parts of her.

THUS reads Article 37 (2), The King's Regulations and Admiralty Instructions 1943, which are those still in force for flag usage, in the continued absence of the appropriate chapter in the present Queen's Regulations.

There have been several interesting opportunities since the end of hostilities for observing this ancient custom and, usually, each instance has been accompanied by some press or other references to its symbolical significance and to the flags themselves. As often as not its origin is said to date back to the Restoration and, in effect, this is the short and ready answer to the question as to when it was recorded or noted for the first time and how it comes to be observed. The full answer is not so simple: it must be lengthy and indeed it casts grave doubts on whether the present practice is, in fact, based on such sound precedent as it is supposed to be.

The Royal Standard, obviously, is the principal emblem and, being so well known, needs little, if any, comment. The Union flag is the least important and in this combination is not related in any way to the rank of Admiral of the Fleet, whether the sovereign has assumed that title or not. This is a common mistake and even recently Portsmouth newspapers have been known inexcusably to err in this respect in their reportings. The second in status, but not so familiar as less has been written about it, is the Admiralty flag, thought by so many to be flown by the monarch as the Lord High Admiral of the kingdom—another common error. This is what the Admiralty states in this regard in its new Seamanship Manual (1951):

This was the flag of the Lord High Admiral but as there is no such person nowadays it is now the flag of the Commissioners for executing the Office of the Lord High Admiral, known generally as the Board of Admiralty. It is flown day and night over the Admiralty in London, and at the main masthead of the Admiralty yacht when the Board is embarked in her (at least two Lords Commissioners of whom one must be a naval officer, and in addition a Secretary, may constitute a 'Board'). It is also flown in H.M. ships on the occasion of their launching. When the Sovereign is embarked the Admiralty flag is worn at the fore masthead, or in some other suitable position, to denote that the Sovereign is the source from which are derived the powers of the Board of Admiralty. At the same time the Royal Standard is worn at the main masthead and the Union flag at the mizzen masthead or some other suitable position.

So another popular belief goes by the board; the sovereign in the eyes of the Admiralty is not the Lord High Admiral, which is at least the common-sense view, whatever others might be held. An explanation is advanced to account for the display of the Admiralty flag and, incidentally, the passage quoted above—‘the source etc.’—reads very much like Perrin;¹ but no information is offered regarding the significance, which will emerge later, of the Union flag. The Standard needs no comment.

From early records it is clear that the king was expected, whenever circumstances allowed, to assume executive command of whatever naval forces he had at his disposal. His flag of command could only be the Royal Standard, so called, his personal banner-of-arms. By evolution the office of L.H.A. was created in due course to relieve the sovereign, and the holder, as the king’s personal deputy, flew the Standard when in command afloat. Gradually emblems of anchor pattern emerged which were regarded as the badge of the L.H.A. and a form of anchor was sometimes to be found in their seals and arms. From early times the anchor has been a feature in the naval flags of several maritime countries. The first pictorial evidence of a L.H.A.’s device in the form of a flag relates to 1588 when an anchor streamer is shown in the engraving of the *Ark Royal*, Lord Howard’s flagship; and the first mention of a L.H.A.’s flag (with motto) to 1623,² as recorded by our late member W. G. Perrin. Its early use was ornamental rather than strictly practical and it appeared in the dress of the flagship on ceremonial occasions just as the royal badges were displayed in similar circumstances.

At some date between that year and 1672, probably not before 1661, it became the practice, owing to the growing restrictions on the use of the standard, for the L.H.A. to fly his flag in the presence of the sovereign, otherwise two standards would be aloft together which, obviously, would be ambiguous. Indeed, the anchor flag appears to have been raised to the status of a command flag from the former badge emblem for this purpose. In the absence of any record, if the necessity arose before the early years of the Restoration to fly a substitute for the Standard, it must be assumed that it was ignored. The flag the Lord Admiral flew was the forerunner of to-day’s handsome piece of crimson with its yellow anchor and cable rove loosely through the ring, but not foul of the shank, as it was from 1725 to 1815, and the field appears to have been red from the time of the earliest known descriptions.

Now it is held generally among students of flag lore that this three flag arrangement indicative of the presence of the sovereign afloat does in fact

¹ *British Flags*, p. 85.

² *Ibid.* p. 82.

date back to the actual Restoration in 1660. There are several reasons for this belief and it is easy to see why it is held. The knowledge that from 1844 the practice (exclusive to the sovereign from that date) has been laid down in successive Queen's and King's Regulations and Admiralty Instructions created the feeling that there was solid foundation for the custom and, consequently, for its acceptance without question. In support Commander Charles N. Robinson, R.N., in *The British Fleet* (1894), sketches the ship, and on p. 94 states: 'In the Van de Velde picture of the fleet bringing home Charles, the *Naseby* is shown with the Standard at the main, the Admiralty flag at the fore, the Union at the mizzen. . . . As Van de Velde was there in person this is doubtless a correct presentment.'

Within a few years Barlow Cumberland, M.A., in his *History of the Union Jack*, shows a drawing of the *Naseby*, renamed *Royal Charles*, wearing the three flags in the manner described. . . . and, as part of the text, is seen, 'the ship on (sic) which Charles II came to England'. Our late member, Cecil King, one of the most reliable authorities, adds weight to this conviction in his wonderful sixpennyworth, *The History of British Flags* (1914). Reference is made to this same Van de Velde picture and the flags shown in it, followed by the statement: ' . . . the same arrangement, in fact, as that seen on Royal yachts from that time [May, 1660] till now'. In his later writings such as 'The King's Flags and some Others' (1932, revised 1938)¹ and 'Flags in Marine Art'² he is not quite so categorical as to the origin but the inference is the same, namely, that this form of dress is peculiar to, and the proper reception by flags for, the sovereign afloat.

But the most dogmatic of all, among those not merely repeating the findings of others, is Paymaster Commander C. M. Gavin, R.N., who writes in his *Royal Yachts* (1932)—a masterly tome—after a description of each of the three flags:

But the custom of wearing the three flags together—namely, the Royal Standard, the Lord High Admiral's flag, and the Union flag—to mark the presence of the Sovereign on board a man-of-war, dates from the Restoration. There are two authorities for this. The first is pictures by Van de Velde, the elder. When Charles the Second embarked at Scheveningen for England in 1660, Van de Velde sailed round the assembled fleet and made many sketches of the vessels. Two of these are of the *Naseby* (*Royal Charles*), the ship in which Charles was embarked. In both drawings the three flags are displayed. One picture may be seen in the National Maritime Museum,³ and there is something in it which seems to speak of the deep feeling which stirred the hearts of Englishmen at the Restoration of the monarchy; as though the Royal Standard at the main proclaimed, 'I am, by the Grace of God, Charles the Second, King of England'; the Union flag at the mizzen, 'I am the King of Great Britain'; and the Anchor flag at the fore, 'I am

¹ *M.M.*, Vol. 38, No. 2, May 1952.

² *M.M.*, Vol. 22, No. 2, April 1936.

³ In an appendix he locates the other at the Nederlandsch Historisch Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam.

Charles, King of England, and Lord High Admiral of the English Fleet'. Another instance from the pictures still in existence represents the visit of Charles the Second to the Fleet in 1672 after the battle of Solebay. Here too the *Royal Charles* flew the same three flags.

The second authority is the account which Lieutenant John Narborough gives in his carefully kept journal (1672).

After paraphrasing in the text and in an appendix passages from his detailed log,¹ Gavin proceeds: 'The position then with regard to the Lord High Admiral's flag would seem to be that it was flown by Charles the Second as always being *de jure* Lord High Admiral, and sometimes having actually held the office himself.'

Actually, of course, Charles held the office only for a brief period at the end of his reign. There is a nice touch of sentiment about the feelings Gavin attributes to that monarch, but it is extremely unlikely that Charles himself, so occupied as he must have been at that time with more urgent affairs of state, could have conceived such ideas, and Gavin's romancing must be dismissed for one very good reason, if for no other: neither the picture in the National Maritime Museum, nor that at Amsterdam, exists in the form he imagined it to be. One at Greenwich had been wrongly identified for a considerable time as representing 'The Homecoming of Charles II' and this must have been what misled Robinson, Cumberland, Gavin, and Cecil King. The Amsterdam drawing of the *Royal Charles*, reproduced on Pl. I, 'The Van de Velde's' article,² shows the Standard but not the flag of the L.H.A. or the Union as a masthead flag, so Gavin had been misinformed about that item too.

There is another picture at Greenwich, also apparently of the *Royal Charles* in 1660 by W. Van de Velde the elder. This is in more detail, the ship being very liberally bedecked with long pendants, in token of jubilation at Charles's presence no doubt, but again with only the standard as a masthead flag.

Pepys had become Secretary for the Affaires of the Admiralty in 1684, and two or three years later he looked very closely into flag matters for his own satisfaction and the benefit of his new sovereign and Lord High Admiral, James II. One point he wished to establish was the flags flown by the homecoming fleet in 1660, which is difficult to understand seeing that James as Duke of York, then, as later, L.H.A., had been present in the *London* and Pepys himself present also, in the *Naseby* (*Royal Charles*) as secretary to Montagu, later the Earl of Sandwich. Much of the evidence collected is very carefully preserved in his manuscripts, including the testimony of an eye-witness named Homewood: 'Mr Homewood is positive

¹ (a) *British Flags* (1922), W. G. Perrin, p. 81. (b) *Third Dutch War* (Navy Records Soc.), No. 86. (c) Pepysian Sea MSS. 2555.

² *M.M.*, Vol. 36, No. 3, July 1950.

in it, that ye King when he was Ld. Adm'l. had noe Anchor in his Ensigne, but wore ye Ordinary One'.¹ This reference, of course, is to James II as L.H.A. when Duke of York. But that following, ignoring abbreviations, is to Charles II and the word 'late' was inserted as an afterthought to distinguish between the two kings: 'When his late Majesty came over he had another Sort of Standard made by my Lord Sandwich in ye *Royal Charles*. The Duke of York with ye Ld. Admirals Flag or Union in the *London* at ffore top masthead and ye Duke of Gloucester in ye *Swiftsure* with ye Union flag at mizzen top masthead.'² The other 'Sort of Standard' must have been the makeshift mentioned by Pepys,³ improvised by Montagu in the *Naseby* during the passage to Scheveningen, because of the non-arrival in time of the royal standard which he was to take to Holland that had been sent by the Navy Board.

This, then, was the order of precedence of the flags during the homeward voyage, and except that a Union flag occupied the place of what might have been the Anchor flag there was some resemblance to the present three-flag arrangement but in three ships and not one; that is, after the fashion defining the various grades of admiral in three-masted ships. It is not surprising to find a doubtful mention of the flag of the L.H.A. which, according to Perrin and Cecil King, was not restored to use until 1661; and to the other 'Sort of Standard'. Fortunately there is an excellent piece of corroboration of part of this testimony of Homewood in the *Atlas van Stolk*, Rotterdam, which confirms that the new L.H.A. did in fact fly the Union flag at the fore topmasthead and not the Anchor flag. This is another Van de Velde picture,⁴ of the *London* (Vice-Admiral Lawson) in which the Duke of York, just created L.H.A., embarked for Dover. The translation of the Dutch inscription⁵ it bears reads: 'The ship *London*, in which the Duke of York came over to England under the command of Vice-Admiral Lawson.' It appears conclusive, therefore, that the three-flag combination in one ship certainly was not seen in 1660; and not even the authentic Standard, at any rate during those early Restoration days; nor the flag of the L.H.A., except as represented by the Union.

The first real evidence of the flying of the three flags together in one ship

¹ Appendix A.

² *Pepys's MS. Miscellany*, Vol. ix, p. 379. } Appendix C.

³ *Pepys's Diary*, 13 May 1660.

⁴ Reproduced in J. C. Mollema's Dutch history at sea: *Geschiedenis van Nederland ter zee*, Amsterdam, 1940, Vol. II, p. 303. Also mentioned in *M.M.*, Vol. 36, No. 3, p. 190, July 1950. The hulls of *Naseby* and *London* are reproduced in *M.M.*, Vol. 4 (1914), but are valueless for this subject as the emphasis is not on flags and they are shown without masts.

⁵ 'Schip Londen alwaer ducke de Jorck mede over quam naer Engelant ende gecommandeert van de visad[miraal] Lauson.'

relates to 1672 as recorded by Gavin (but not considered to be the first by him) namely, in the picture by Van de Velde the younger of the fleet review of that year after Solebay; and in the Narborough journal descriptive of the visit of Charles. The pertinent paragraphs of this account bearing on flags read at first sight as if they were in fact a recital of the procedure, to become traditional, observed on the embarkation of the sovereign, and they appear to be the confirmation of the evidence apparently contained in the picture. A careful study of this account, however, suggests otherwise, and it seems quite clear that Narborough describes what happened *when the sovereign boarded his L.H.A.'s flagship* and how the flags were shifted at a time when there was no objection to a command flag being borne in the same ship as the standard. Since then the wheel has turned full circle and once more such procedure is permissible on occasions of short informal visits not demanding the full ceremonial.¹ Gavin, like others, did not read the evidence aright, and there is absolutely nothing to suggest up to this point that the precedent had become established (except perhaps in the case of the L.H.A.'s flagship) or any reason for supposing that the present practice was laid down by Charles himself. Why should the King wish, or why should it be necessary for him, to display three flags to indicate his presence afloat when two of them were, and still are, subordinate to the Standard; particularly, remembering that the Anchor flag was elevated from a badge emblem to a command flag as a *substitute* for the Standard to be flown by the L.H.A. in the presence of the sovereign? Gavin's romancing is nonsense and it is indeed remarkable that Perrin, the most likely authority to have attempted an explanation, offers nothing whatever to account for the present custom, but is content merely to record it.

As for the Union flag it seems clear from the Narborough narrative that its inclusion in the three-flag arrangement was because of the presence, and in honour of, some nobleman in the king's retinue, almost certainly Prince Rupert in 1672; and there is the 1660 procedure, during the homeward passage of the royal party, of the Duke of Gloucester hoisting the Union at the mizzen. It is possible that at Scheveningen the standard at the main may have been seen with the Union at the fore *and* mizzen in one ship, but not with the L.H.A.'s flag in any position as its use had not been revived at that time. The *London* with the Duke of York embarked bore the Union at the fore.

The argument has been advanced that royal yachts of those days were small with only one mast and for that reason the king could not display the three flags together in one of them when thus restricted, but this does not carry any weight and is not supported by Pepys. Had it been Charles's

¹ Q.R. & A.I. (1943), Art. 110. Amend^t M. 2347/49-5/50-3. xi. 50.

wish to indulge in a little pageantry as suggested by Gavin he could have done so when crossing to Dover in the *Royal Charles* with the Union at the fore in place of the still dormant L.H.A.'s flag or second standard; but by all the evidence he did not choose to do so and flew the standard only. Again, why should he? Surely the greater contains the lesser just as an admiral who has reached his rank through the ordinary process of promotion does not fly a pendant, a commodore's pendant too if ever he had been a commodore, as well as his admiral's flag or flags. The *Narborough* journal gives the clue to the real situation, namely, that the three flags when they appeared in the same vessel did so only because the king was visiting the flagship of his L.H.A. in company with some prince or other nobleman and a spare vacant masthead was available for the flag of the last named, to wit, the Union, as the most appropriate, at the mizzen. A visit to any other ship would not have involved the display of the L.H.A.'s flag in conjunction with the standard, unless accompanied by his Lord Admiral.

As a flag of command in the presence of the monarch the birth of the Anchor piece is unlikely to have taken place before 1661, the year of its re-introduction. The reason for this supposition is that had it been so used prior to 1649 the Council of State would not have been under the necessity of having to design a new flag in place of the discarded Royal Standard; or perhaps it did not occur to the Council that the Anchor flag was a ready-made emblem eminently suitable to be flown by the generals at sea appointed to exercise the functions of the L.H.A. It must have been free from political taint and should, therefore, have been acceptable, inasmuch as the 1638-1725 seal with the clear anchor was not rejected during the Commonwealth period. Up to that time, too, seemingly, the flag had no apparent connotation of royal association about it as the Standard had.

On his accession James did a little private manipulation, difficult to understand unless it was to satisfy vanity; he fashioned a variant of the Anchor flag and a special ensign for his personal use. He had been trained from a tender age to become L.H.A., and no doubt took his duties seriously; or the reason may have been the memory of being deprived of his office in 1673 by the Test Act when he was still Duke of York. His brother Charles being now dead and unable to call him to order, perhaps he conceived this as one, if small, way of asserting his royal authority. In that year the office was placed, and remained for eleven more years, in commission. It reverted to the crown a short time before the death of Charles II when that monarch revoked the commission. James II retained the office on ascending the throne in 1685 until deposed in 1688 by the Revolution, and as Perrin puts on record¹ in token of this 'placed a crown over the anchor

¹ *British Flags*, p. 83.

as being himself his own admiral'.¹ Perrin adds that in addition to the anchor flag, a flag of similar design, but with the St George's cross in the upper canton, was also flown as an ensign at the stern² and by his yachts.³ Such action was entirely superfluous, and what Perrin does not record is that Pepys, in no doubt as to the impropriety of juggling with these flags, questioned and received the testimony of Mr Homewood, as indicated above, that James as L.H.A. *when Duke of York* did not include an anchor in his ensign but flew the ordinary pattern.

Now it seems to follow that if this was the case, which appears to be beyond dispute, he would not display a crown in his ensign either, as this would be pointless, he not being the sovereign at that time; and further, that his anchor flag too, would be without a crown. Pepys must have known that the Standard was the all-in-all and that the anchor flag was only the substitute for use in the presence of the sovereign. Evidently posterity thought as little about these private emblems as did Pepys, who could do nothing about it presumably at the time; on James's deposition they were not accepted by his successors and, quite rightly, did not survive. In 1688, therefore, the 'royal' ensign disappeared; the old form of L.H.A.'s flag without the crown was revived and henceforth the procedure described by Narborough continued to be observed, but with the old flags, whenever the sovereign boarded the flagship of the Lord Admiral or, when the office of L.H.A. was in commission, any vessel in which the Board of Admiralty might be afloat flying the anchor 'Standard'. It is conceivable that on most occasions there would be someone in the party for whom the Union could properly be flown, but if not, as time went on, probably it became customary to display this piece in order to dress what otherwise would be an odd bare masthead and so preserve the balance.

A change occurred in 1702 when the anchor flag, after being the L.H.A.'s substitute for the Standard when in the presence of the sovereign for at least some forty years, became the sole command flag of the L.H.A., the use of the Standard being now wholly withdrawn from him. From that date onwards, for some one hundred and thirty years, a good measure of conjecture is inevitable, in the absence of definite information, but pictorial evidence is not lacking of the practice of the flying of the three flags during the eighteenth century. Gradually it came to be held, no doubt, that this was the correct ceremonial to be followed whenever the monarch chose to visit *any* ship irrespective of her character, notwithstanding Pepys's

¹ *Pepys's MSS. Misc.*, Vol. ix. (This flag was flown only by the flagship of the L.H.A. when not flying the Standard, the king being aboard another ship wearing the Standard.)

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

carefully compiled instructions regarding the use of flags for distinguishing degrees of command, issued c. 1686.¹

Narborough's description of the procedure of his time, and its significance, must have passed into oblivion too and the origin of the custom been forgotten; the three-flag arrangement was also put to less exalted uses. Flagships hoisted it on royal anniversaries; ships in which the sovereign's consorts² were embarked flew it also; all three flags and others were used at launches within living memory; and even to-day the Admiralty flag is still flown by H.M. vessels when they go down the ways although the Board may not be in the ship or so much as represented at the launch! It was not until 1833 that any action was taken to unravel the confusion. In July of that year an Order in Council was issued restricting to the sovereign and his consort the present practice of flying the three flags.

Bromfield,³ in referring to this action of the flagships on royal anniversaries, states that this was 'expressly taken to mean that the sovereign was not on board, the standard hoisted by itself signifying the reverse.' Certainly this would seem to be the case, as, besides the rules laid down by Pepys, neither the regulations in effect from 1731 to 1824, nor those of 1824 to 1833 make any mention of flags proper to the sovereign or royalty,

¹ *Pepys's MSS. Misc.*, Vol. ix, a table at p. 391. These regulations made it clear that the flagship of the L.H.A. wore:

The Standard: 'At ye Maine Top: the King being aboard, or not at all in the fleet.'

Anchor of the Lord Admir^{ll}: 'At ye Maine Top, the King being in ye fleet aboard another shipp.'

Union or Jack Flagg: Not worn as a masthead flag.

Jack: 'At ye Bow Sprit.'

Perrin sets out the full contents of this table in *British Flags*, pp. 96-7. So does Admiral Blomfield two years earlier in *The Mariner's Mirror*, Vol. vi, 1920, p. 207, but with some unimportant omissions, perhaps printing oversights. By a strange coincidence both failed to correct the absence of the word 'Fore' from the concluding sentence at the foot of the last column. Both must have seen the original MS.

² Good examples are the two pictures of the *Royal Charlotte* at the National Maritime Museum reproduced by Gavin in *Royal Yachts*. In both, the three flags are displayed: by Princess Charlotte Mecklenburg-Strelitz in one, and as Queen Charlotte consort of George III in the other. Queen Adelaide also flew the three flags. An earlier instance of the loose use of what appear to be the three flags can be seen in the picture commemorating the arrival at Dover of Princess Mary of Modena for her marriage to James, Duke of York, in 1673. This is reproduced in *Royal Yachts* facing p. 68. Note the Royal Standard, apparently without a label, and with the quarterings certainly wrongly placed.

³ Rear-Admiral Blomfield, *J.R.U.S.I.*, Dec. 1894. He does not refer to any specific instance but one such may be quoted from the log of H.M.S. *Centurion*, 30 October 1750: 'hoisted the Anchor & hope, standard and union, it being the Birth Day of His present Majesty'. Ad. 51/175, Public Record Office. The introduction of the word 'hope' is curious. Admiral Smyth (*The Sailor's Word Book*, 1867) uses a similar expression: anchor of hope.

other than the Royal Standard. Perhaps one object of the order of 1833 stipulating the three-flag combination was to distinguish between the monarch and other members of the royal family at a time when there was only one Standard with which to do it, other than by 'labels'. This limited its use, and labels are not readily visible at any distance. Gavin quotes these regulations, but their significance seems to have escaped him. The revision of 1844 finally restricted the three flags as exclusive to the sovereign and the basis of the relevant article is still in force, as the opening quotation of this review indicates.

About 1850 the flag of the L.H.A. was brought ashore and has been flown by the Board as its command flag ever since, on land and at sea. At times it does not appear to have received the proper treatment due to its status. It used to be hauled down at sunset for over fifty years and it is on record that it has been half-masted on all sorts of occasions: on the deaths of foreign royalty, Gladstone, Palmerston, and others. H.M. King Edward VII gave instructions, no doubt on the recommendation of his experts, that in future it was only to be half-masted on the death of the sovereign, which is not in keeping with normal usage bearing in mind that it is the command flag of the Board. Their advice was faulty. On the death of H.M. Queen Mary it was inadvertently half-masted for a brief period but was immediately hauled close up again on the mistake being realized. Considering the original purpose of this three-flag group there is no valid precedent for this method of denoting the presence of the Sovereign afloat. The flag of the L.H.A., the present Admiralty flag, was a substitute for the Standard and it has been shown how the Union flag in this setting was really accidental as it would have had no place in a two-masted ship. The custom is based on a misconception. The practice is colourful and pleasing, and being now so firmly established presumably it will never be discarded, but the Standard should be sufficient; and having regard to its significance the Admiralty flag should not be flown in another vessel in company with a Royal yacht or warship wearing it. A break with tradition, particularly if of long standing, is unusual, but the anchor flag might be modified in some way or alternatively the monarch's emblem could be differenced so as to draw a distinction between them.¹

¹ This is not a contradiction of the statement that the successors of James II were right in abolishing the special flags he created when he retained in his own hands the office of L.H.A. on his accession. Nowadays the circumstances are quite different: James could have flown his special L.H.A. flag singly, but apparently did not do so. He used it solely to distinguish his flagship, as that of the L.H.A. when not aboard in person. When actually aboard, the ship wore the standard as did his yachts. To-day the Admiralty flag and the flag of the L.H.A., indistinguishable except from the positions they occupy, can be seen afloat at the same time, which is distinctly anomalous.

The authority for the display of the Admiralty flag on land is the same as that at sea, namely that at least two lords, one of whom must be a naval officer, and a secretary, acting as the Board, are present. In such circumstances it could be, and is, flown on a motor car or other vehicle in the same way as a boat flag is borne; but it would be with much less authority for a member such as the First Lord, travelling *alone* although on duty, to fly it. A small variant of the flag, which may not be used at sea, was sanctioned recently for the purpose of identifying civil members of the Board proceeding on duty by road. It is of the same pattern as the Admiralty flag but is surrounded by a blue border.

A small silk Admiralty flag may be seen displayed banner-fashion in the Admiralty 'Parish' Church of St Martin-in-the-Fields. It hangs from the Admiralty box in the chancel.¹ This is reminiscent of the stalls of the Knights of the Garter, or of some other noble order: a rather curious innovation in the case of an emblem of this character.

Blue was used too, to distinguish the older flags of the Naval Boards of Australia, New Zealand and Canada fashioned at different dates during the past quarter of a century. The anchor design and half the field of crimson have been preserved in each case: Australia—per fess, halved horizontally red over blue; New Zealand—per pale, halved vertically red and, to the fly, blue; Canada—per bend, halved diagonally from dexter downwards to sinister, blue to the hoist, red uppermost and to the fly.

In conclusion, an interesting speculation is whether the present Admiralty flag would not bear some resemblance to the Turkish national flag if the Admiralty badge of Richard's star and crescent, inspired by his experiences in Cyprus and still seen in the Arms of Portsmouth, had not been discarded in the sixteenth century in favour of the anchor seal.

APPENDIX A

This action of James, ensigning the anchor with a crown, is hard to understand. It was vanity perhaps, but it does show that he recognized the plain anchor flag as being the substitute for the Standard, and seemingly, when king he never displayed anything but the Standard. Indeed, from the rules laid down by Pepys it is clear that the anchor emblem (i.e. with the addition of the crown) virtually lost its command status and reverted to a badge flag during the reign of James II. It appears never to have been flown by him as king but only by the flagship of the L.H.A. when the sovereign, exercising the office himself, was not present. Whatever the urge there was no reason to introduce the defaced ensign flown by the flagship and yachts.

James, probably, was more than ordinarily flag-conscious, and unless

¹ Presented by the First Lord, 26 November 1954.

artistic licence may be blamed, the flying of what the late Cecil King described as 'The King's three flags'¹ shown in H.M.S. *Gloucester* can only be attributed to his orders. This picture by Danckerts (N.M.M. acquired 1932) represents the escape of James, Duke of York, from the wreck of the vessel in 1682 when on passage to Scotland. The Duke was no longer L.H.A., having been deprived of the office nine years previously by the Test Act. The office was now in commission, and Charles II was not present! Cecil King suggests that the sovereign's three flags were flown by James as his viceroy in Scotland; but the wreck occurred off Norfolk so he was not even in Scottish waters. As viceroy the Standard would have been sufficient in any case so, in the absence of the monarch and assuming that the three-flag combination really was already established, this incident would appear to be just another one of irresponsible flag procedure.

Numismatics do not aid the research worker greatly in the quest for the authenticity of the three flags as exclusive to the sovereign but they are valuable. The actual medals are not in detail minute enough for absolute certainty. That commemorating this escape of the Duke² gives no clue to the bunting the ship wore and, therefore, does not confirm the evidence of the picture. There is nothing relative to the embarkation at Scheveningen or the landing at Dover, but there is an excellent item in the series struck following the great Yarmouth victory in 1665. This is the Dominion of the Sea medal³ of Charles himself, the *pièce de resistance* of all the evidence, after the Narborough journal and the Pepys code, that the three-flag group was not an arrangement intended to signalize the presence of the monarch afloat. Would Charles have sanctioned the issue of such a medal had he been the founder of the three-flag practice? Here is depicted a three-masted ship with *no semblance* of either the flag of the L.H.A. at the fore or the Union at the mizzen. The jack clearly is the Union and, at the main, a flag charged with the letters 'C.R.' (Carolus Rex) as described by Cumberland. The lettering, of course, is intended to convey the fact that the flag is the Royal Standard, but one wonders whether there is any symbolical connexion with the makeshift standard used five years earlier as described by Pepys.⁴

The James, Duke of York, L.H.A., medal⁵ of the same year—1665—is larger and a clean production; however, it does present two doubts. The reverse shows the flagship in greater detail but there is no sign of a label in the Standard and very little of a saltire in the flag at the mizzen. This pre-

¹ M.M., Vol. 38, No. 2, p. 96, May 1952.

² Nat. Maritime Museum, British Museum, and Medallic Illustrations of the *History of Great Britain and Ireland*, Hawkins, Pl. LX, No. 12.

³ N.M.M., B.M. and Med. Illustrations, etc. Pl. XLIX, No. 3; also illustrated in Cumberland's *History of the Union Jack* (second edition, p. 108). ⁴ Pepys's *Diary*, 13 May 1660.

⁵ N.M.M., B.M. and Med. Illustrations, etc. Pl. XLIX, No. 1.

sentment of the Standard is doubtless too small to permit the inclusion in the medal of a label, if one actually was a charge on the flag at the time. An original in the British Museum has just a faint trace of part of one-quarter of a saltire in the mizzen piece. It *could*, therefore, be argued that this is another example of the three flags and the date of 1672 should then be advanced to 1665. The obverse of this piece is entirely dedicated to James, Duke of York, Lord High Admiral, both bust and inscription. Apparently, therefore, judging by the face value of these two medals, it is the Lord Admiral who is flaunting the flags, unless the Standard was actually labelled, in which case the flag of the L.H.A. at the fore is quite in order. Conversely, Charles himself is *not* displaying those very three flags attributed in some quarters as proper to him as the source of the custom, when afloat! And as has been shown by Pepys's instructions, James II, although functioning himself in the role of his own L.H.A., flew the Standard only with neither the anchor flag, nor the Union except as a jack; and yet from the confusion of the following century and a half comes the present-day custom, crystallized in 1844, based on an entirely erroneous conception of the supposed precedents.

APPENDIX B

There are two noteworthy features to be observed in the flags of the two ships, *Royal Charles* (*Naseby*) and *London*. In the case of the former (the Amsterdam example), the Union jack, and of the latter the Union jack, the flag at the fore, and mizzen vane are all shown with the red saltire. Van de Velde has the reputation of having been most careful and pains-taking and apparent anomalies such as these cannot be dismissed lightly. This instance of the *London* is an addition to the numerous examples mentioned by our member Guilleux la Roërie.¹ Pepys refers to the harp as being very offensive to the king,² and that it had to be removed from all the flags before the fleet, sent to bring Charles back from Holland, reached its destination. It was as a result of this order and the labours of the tailors that the 'C.R.' temporary standard emerged. Can it be that the idea occurred to someone that something had to be incorporated in the restored flags to take the place of the erased harp, and that to achieve this 1801 was anticipated? Perrin and Cecil King cite the Geraldine saltire³ as a maritime flag in Goghe's map of Ireland, 1567,⁴ and this may have been the inspiration. However, the innovation was not an enduring one. The Commons Picture Corridor, Houses of Parliament, too, must not be dis-

¹ *M.M.*, Vol. 37, No. 4, p. 318, October 1951.

² Diary, May 13th, 1660, quoted by Perrin, *British Flags*, p. 66.

³ *M.M.*, Vol. 38, No. 2, p. 99, May 1952.

⁴ Public Record Office.

regarded. The landing of Charles II at Dover in 1660 is clearly depicted with his boat flying a Union with both saltires. Had the artist¹ access to some evidence supporting Van de Velde?

The other feature is the Standard in both the *Royal Charles* pictures. Despite his careful attention to detail all the lions and the harp are represented as facing the fly instead of the hoist, quite contrary to correct heraldic procedure, that is, to sinister instead of dexter. Another point is that if the harp was so offensive to the king, why was the opportunity not taken of modifying the Stuart standard at the time?

Other aspects, such as the flying generally of the Union by merchantmen and at their launchings; or of the use of this flag at the peak of the gaff in connexion with this three-flag custom as occurred recently at the Coronation Review, must be the subject for another occasion: they are too wide for the scope of this article.

The Queen's Regulations and Admiralty Instructions, Chapter 12, has since been issued. The new Article, No. 1201, defining the Sovereign's three flags, is unchanged except for minor variations in phraseology. The permissibility of the flying of the Admiralty flag on a car by the First Lord (Art. 1281) brings him into line with members of the Board acting as a Board, which seems strange in view of the longstanding definition of the minimum number and status of Members required to constitute a Board.

APPENDIX C

- Mr. Hornewood is positive in it, that King when he was at sea had an anchor in his ensign, but now, Ordinance One.

He says, the Sovereign had a King's arms in his ensign when
P. George (1702) which he says, Mr. Roffwick knew, happened to be in the old
arms of her in her first battle & never could be told what they were, & the
old arms not now worn, supposed for Launching-colours only.

He says further that when the King at sea before the Restoration
Standard of the King & Royal in a Label at the main top in head, the
Duke of York in a Label at the fore top & the Earl of Monmouth in the
middle top.

When the King came over he had another sort of Standard made by Mr. Ward
when he was in the Royal Navy. The Duke of York a Label at the main top or Union in the
London ensign top in head & the Duke of York in a Label at the fore top in the Union, flag
& Monmouth in the head.

Pepys's MS. Miscellany IX (2877) a portion of page 379. Through the courtesy of Dr R. W. Ladborough, Pepysian Librarian, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

¹ E. M. Ward, R.A., c. 1867.

NAVAL PHOTOGRAPHS

By Oscar Parkes

WHEN a contribution dealing with my collection of warship photographs was invited for the *Mariner's Mirror*, it was suggested that something on the lines of 'Old Maritime Prints' (Vol. 37, No. 2) by the late A. G. H. Macpherson would be acceptable. Now the Macpherson Collection is something of national importance, of very considerable monetary and historical value, and covering the widest possible field in all subjects of maritime interest ranging from ships to ports and maps to portraits. My collection is of warship photos only, and can be of limited interest only in comparison. It comprises eighty-odd large loose-leaf albums of photographs of the world's warships from the 'sixties to the end of the nineteen-thirties, compiled during the past fifty-odd years, and is a more or less complete record of naval construction of all types from battleships down to trawlers.

The naval photo collector is in a happier way than, say, one who specializes in prints and etchings—there was no great expense involved in the old days, and if one was a keen photographer things were a lot easier. But unfortunately photographs are not like prints and engravings, as in time they begin to fade and are not usually fixed and washed properly to ensure a long life—which means regular supervision with copying and renewals.

Some of the veterans are those excellent reproductions which appeared in the old *Navy and Army Illustrated* from 1896, printed on best-quality glossy paper which will outlast any photographs. Many of these, I regret to say, were replaced by the actual photos some thirty years ago, which now show a definite yellow tinge, and nowadays I prefer a good reproduction from one of the glossy periodicals to the original photograph as forming a more lasting record. In hundreds of cases I have made my own copy negatives from fading photos, and enlarged them to my standard size (11 x 9 in.) adding sky effects and sea as indicated. Without such embellishment to what would otherwise be a blank sky and sea, the enlargement would find no place in my albums; so treated, an otherwise harsh print becomes a presentable picture.

And here may I pay a tribute to the memory of those who made our records of the old ships possible—to W. Long of Plymouth, most of whose work was done with a 22 x 15 in. wet plate needing an exposure long enough to allow for a foreground skiff to sail across the picture. He went out into

the Sound for many of his shots, and somehow solved the problem of securing a steady foundation for his cumbersome apparatus. He was responsible for our only views of the early ironclads and most of the wooden ships before and after their conversion to steam. Long's last photos were taken in the 'nineties, and his boxes of negatives had disappeared, but were run to earth in a damp cellar in 1914 by that ardent collector Mr W. A. Bieber (who supplied Fred Jane with material for his sketches in the early editions of 'Fighting Ships') and with whom I shared their purchase. These are now lodged with the Imperial War Museum.

How well do I remember the excitement of going through these scores of negatives and finding treasures which we never thought existed. *Hector* with double topsails, *Scorpion*, *Wivern* and *Prince Albert* as they first appeared. *Defence* and *Resistance* before topgallant forecastles were fitted, the *Hotspur* with a fixed turret, *Minotaur* square-rigged on four of her five masts, *Achilles* in her original four-mast rig, a beam view of *Captain*, and a host of wooden line-of-battle ships, frigates, corvettes and gunboats. It was one of the happiest days in my life.

W. Symonds worked from Portsmouth and was the official photographer for many years. His shop window in the High Street was filled with naval photographs and as a boy my Mecca in the summer holidays. When he died his assistant, Schinkmann, took me out photographing, and let me have prints of anything I wanted at cost price—a most welcome consideration. Symonds got some splendid panoramas of the naval reviews of '87, '89 and '97, and the entire collection of over 10,000 negatives was purchased by the Imperial War Museum, so that any faded prints can be replaced.

Another early cameraman was W. Gould of Gravesend, who secured almost all the warships built on the Thames when Samuda was turning out the first ironclads or turret ships for nearly every navy then aspiring to sea power. We have to thank him for rarities like the Brazilian turret ship *Independencia* (later H.M.S. *Neptune*) as a barque with double topsails, the Argentine *Almirante Brown* brig rigged, the Chilean *Almirante Cochrane* and *Blanco Encalada* as barquentines, and a lot more, as well as foreigners which visited the Thames.

Unfortunately, Lairds of Birkenhead had no photos of their early turret ships and relied upon paintings for their records. However, several of their curious little warships destined for the ABC republics called at Brest on their way over to South America, where an official French photographer usually thought them worth an exposure.

The Admiralty official photographs only date back to the 'eighties, and can be seen in a series of huge albums lodged in the Admiralty Library, and these I was allowed to borrow for copying. The earliest include the

'Admirals' and the 'Severn' class cruisers with some useful views of the modernized *Alexandra*, *Superb*, *Neptune*, etc.

At Malta, Richard Ellis made records of nearly every warship which came into harbour dating back to when the *Revenge* (90) was flagship up the Straits. There was also an official photographer who favoured views of ships looking down from St Elmo. His output was mediocre, but he secured the only views we shall ever see of the numerous Chinese gunboats which called there on the way out, and many German, Italian, French and Turkish visitors.

Other early-day photographers who enriched our records were: Marius Bar of Toulon who took the *Gloire* and her sisters, and specialized on ships doing speed trials; A. Renard of Kiel; Alois Beer of Klagenfurt, who got the early Austrian ships in their original rig and subsequent modifications; Conte Vecchi of Spezzia, A.B. Bernard of Naples and W. Brady, who was responsible for the naval and other photographs taken during the American Civil War, and secured the only pictures of the monitors, batteries and freaks like the *Dunderberg*, and 'floating elephant' the double turret monitor *Onandaga*.

Another great day was in 1917 when I was appointed to the N.I.D. under Admiral 'Blinker' Hall, and persuaded the cartographer, Mr Brickenden, to produce the old scrap volumes of ship photographs which had accumulated for some years after being used in the confidential books. They were somewhere down in the vast basement, and although there used to be two or three he feared that only one had been spared from pulping. But that one proved to be a mine of rarities garnered during the 'eighties and quite unique. Many were snapshots taken in Malta, Suda Bay and other ports showing old Italian, Greek, Turkish and Austrian ships which I had never hoped to see, with scores of prints from foreign photographers long out of business—faded, soiled and creased, but only waiting to be cleaned, mounted and copied to make excellent negatives.

A pen-friend and keen collector was Commandant the Marquis de Balincourt who first produced the 'Flottes de Combat'. He had served as naval attaché and enjoyed many useful appointments abroad when he made a point of securing all the ship pictures he wanted. We had corresponded and swapped lies over our rarities for years when he invited me to visit him, bring along my best, and compare collections. Most of his photos were loose, and having persuaded him to let me take a considerable number home with me I was able to add copy enlargements to my albums. A few years later when another friend, Commandant Vincent-Bréchignac, became curator at the Musée Maritime at the Louvre, I found drawers full of old French and foreign ship photos, including Admiral Paris's

collection. Many of these were fading and, having pointed out that in a few years time they would be useless unless copies were made without delay, I suggested that I should be allowed to take them home for copying myself. Although their removal from the Louvre was against regulations he agreed that my permanent enlargements of each would make a handsome showing, when the Louvre would never be permitted to spend thousands of francs on getting them copied. So, having lodged his signed permit for their removal at two or three exits, I was able to drive away with a wealth of treasures. From the earliest days the French dockyards had compiled photographic records of their ships, and for the first time one saw pictures of the earliest ironclads and comic little gunboats with long ram bows, stove-pipe funnels almost mast high, and tripod masts. There were the Crimean floating batteries and those built subsequently, and all the early torpedo boats including the only view of the *Gabriel Charmes* with her 5·5 in. gun known to exist. A most interesting squadron picture taken at Brest in 1863 shows the *Napoléon* (Dupuy de Lome's famous creation), the *Gloire* the first ironclad, *Couronne* the first iron-built French capital ship, *Solferino* and *Magenta* the first armoured two-deckers with a ram, and several others. In the foreground is the little *Souffleur* paddler launched in '49, in commission until '85, and used as a floating barracks until 1900.

But until about 1912 there were still many gaps in the Austrian, Greek, Turkish and Italian albums, especially the ships which had fought at Lissa; and to fill these requests were sent to the respective naval authorities for the loan of photos from which copies could be made to complete special warship records. The passing of a few months brought replies from each, of which the Austrians were especially welcome as the ships were shown under rigs of diminishing sail power down to signal poles only. Included was a small view of the Austrian flagship *Ferdinand Max* as she appeared in '66 as a three-masted schooner, and one of the two decker *Kaiser* after the battle, with her bows damaged and foremast missing. The Italian packet also included all the Lissa fleet except the *Re di Portogallo*, of which only a launch photo exists. The Turkish contribution included all their old ironclads in their original form before the rather drastic reconstructions they underwent. Taken in the Golden Horn they formed a fleet which when built could have been formidable, but after decades of neglect and pilfering to defray unpaid salaries deserved the scathing comments with which they were dismissed in our Confidential Book *Europe, Armoured Ships*.

After World War I, when appointed to the Imperial War Museum as Director of Naval Photos, I asked that an official appeal be made to all officers and men to send in any war photos they had secured, and that all restrictions against photography afloat should be rescinded. Also the ship-

builders were asked to forward any photos of wartime construction for inclusion in the national collection. Incidentally the official photographers afloat furnished next to nothing of any value—hundreds of pictures of groups, V.I.P.'s, theatricals, pets and boxing matches but no records of any action, damage or the fleets at sea. However, the appeal brought in over 3000 selected photos which included Lieut. Fawcett's splendid views which illustrated *The Fighting at Jutland*, a fine series of the Battle of the Falklands, a large number from the Dardanelles including bombardments and ships injured, also from the Belgian Coast and Baltic, Black Sea, Rufiji River, Adriatic, and excellent pictures of the Grand Fleet at Sea. Of these one proof copy went into my collection and provided a unique record of the war at sea. The Dockyards also furnished the official damage photos, and I was able to arrange for the purchase of the German damage-after-Jutland photos showing the stricken *Seydlitz*, with her pierced turrets and forecastle nearly awash, the *Derfflinger*'s decks torn up and her battery guns broken off, great mine holes in four of the battleships, damaged destroyers, etc. But as an Admiralty law officer was of the opinion that the purchase having been made *sub rosa* after the Armistice the copyright was still a matter for the German Admiralty, and they were never reproduced or sold. However, by good chance a second similar series came our way upon which no embargo was laid and I believe was made use of officially.

Between 1918 and 1935 as compiler of 'Fighting Ships' a very large assortment of foreign photos were added to the albums, and during the between-war years my friend Richard Perkins—who supplied so many photos for *Jane*—presented me with hundreds of magnificent enlargements for the post-war Navy.

So much for the formation of the collection. To look at some of the most interesting photos take down 'Line-of-battle ships' as an album which should appeal to most readers. Here is what I take to be the oldest known warship photo—the prize *San Josef* being broken up in Devonport Dockyards in 1849, her big figure-head still in position and establishing her identity. This one shows the *Victoria* with her second funnel lowered—the last three-decker to leave harbour as a sea-going ship and the only photo I know of one of the last and biggest ships-of-the-line. Opposite is a fine photo of the Hamoaze with the *Impregnable* centre and all sorts of odd craft strung out down harbour. This one shows the *Lion* before conversion to steam and here a panorama with *Sans Pareil* and *Donegal* and a Crimean 60 h.p. gunboat. One of my favourites is this of the old *Pitt* (ex 'Camperdown') showing her magnificent three-gallery stern—only a coal hulk, but still a black beauty.

This is a pathetic sequence: (1) Nelson's *Foudroyant* as she lay in ordinary up the Hamoaze, where the Germans bought her for breaking; (2) in the Thames in 1892 cut down to the main deck after Mr J. R. Cobb had bought her back for preservation; (3) restored in 1896, fully rigged with gun muzzles in her ports, boats swung out and flags flying; (4) ashore and wrecked off Blackpool in '97 bearing only her mizzen stump and sinking into the sands—an ignoble end to a patriotic expenditure nulled by public apathy.

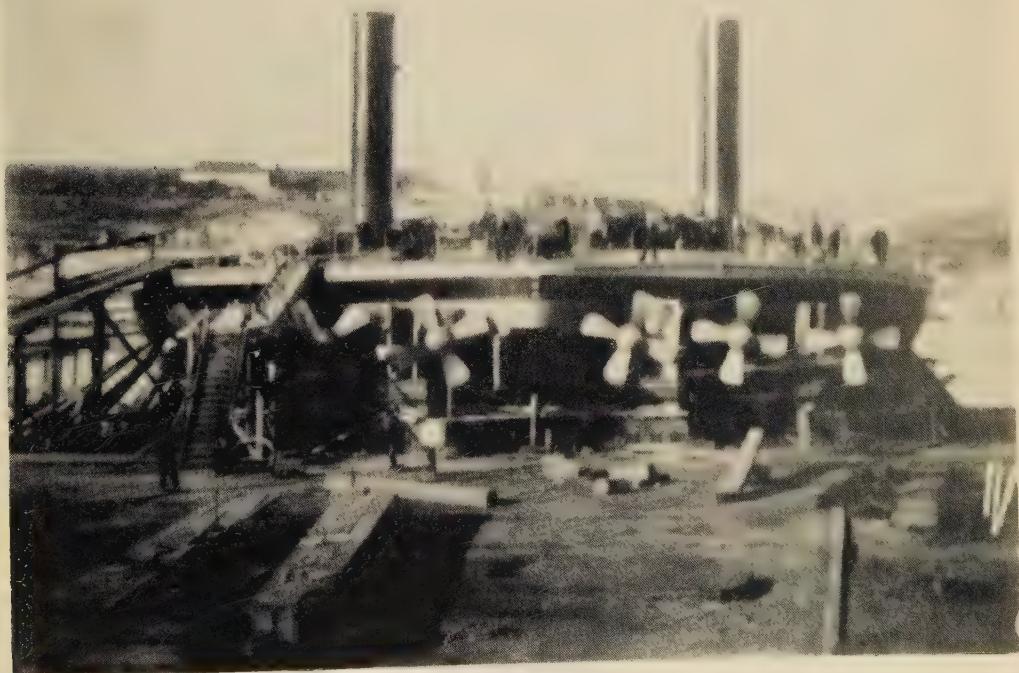
All the training ships are here, with a nice set of the *Boscawen* off Portland with the *Agincourt*, brigs, and a line of Channel Fleet ships in the distance. *Implacable* and *Lion*, *Ganges*, *Caledonia*, *Worcester*, *Eagle*, and all the old friends which used to grace Portsmouth harbour

This volume *Eurydice-Avon* includes all the frigates, corvettes, and early gunboats. These paddlers were copied to hang in a memorial alcove in the Town Hall at Santiago de Cuba along with a bust of the Admiral who stopped the Spaniards from shooting down the Cubans during the 'sixties. In this splendid view of the Grand Harbour with an Indian trooper in the fore and *Lord Warden* ahead of her it would be nice to identify the four frigates in line beyond if one could sit down with some Navy lists from '69 to the early '70's and a good magnifying glass. The Indian trooper reminds me of a request from a general at the India Office who wanted a full set of enlargements of the troop-ships as far back as possible. I turned out a very fine set which he had framed and hung in his room—quite an impressive reminder of the bad old trooping days. A year or so later when asked to call again the walls were bare—the General had claimed them as his own when departing, as he had paid for the framing.

It is the early ships which count in a collection like this, and I am most proud of the four albums 'Warrior' to 'Thunderer' which contain a lot of individual finds among the broadside and central battery ships—*Research*, *Enterprise*, *Favourite*, *Scorpion*, *Royal Sovereign*, *Royal Alfred*, *Zealous* and the like. This one of the old *Thunderer* at sea was taken by Fred Jane from the little *Rattlesnake* when making heavy weather of it during manoeuvres, and this of the wooden turret ship *Royal Sovereign* was copied from a faded photo in an old sailor's house in Portsea. After the 'eighties a collection becomes commonplace and nowadays there is no difficulty in getting any photos you want of our own ships. But the sheer pleasure of forgetting the present in reviewing the Naval Defence Act ships, *Majestic's et seq.* is a great relief at times, especially in these fleet pictures when every ship can be identified. It is much the same with the old French battleships and cruisers—the piled-up *Hoche*, *Magenta* and *Neptune*, the *Brennus* as she first appeared with those heavy fighting masts, wide flat funnels, and extra-

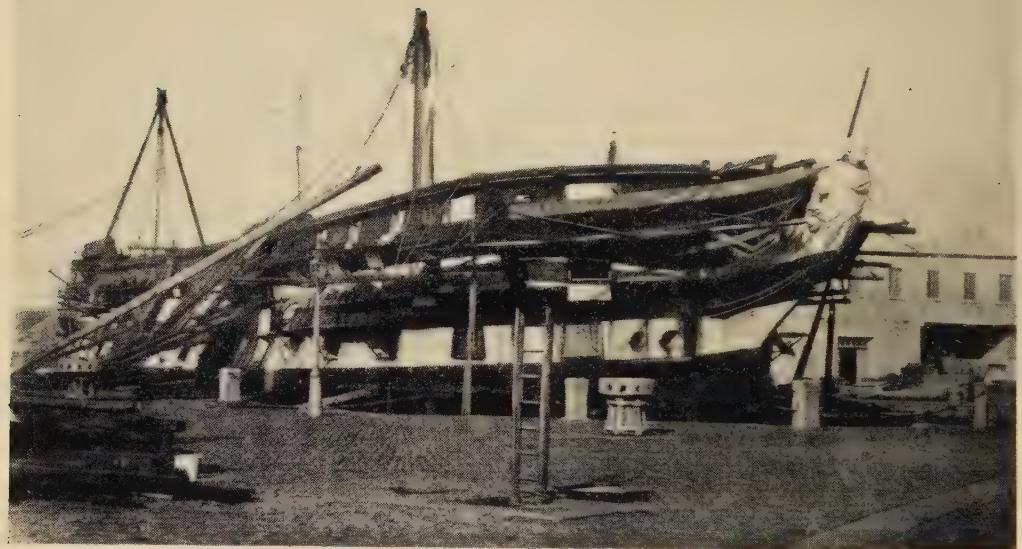


A. A group at the Spithead review, 1887. *Glatton, Black Prince, Impérieuse, Prince Albert*



B. Russian circular ironclad *Admiral Popoff* before launching, showing the six propellers necessary for navigation. The big guns were mounted *en barbette* between the funnels

(Facing p. 286)



A. Breaking up the *San Josef* at Devonport in 1849



B. Former U.S. double-turret monitor *Onondaga* served as torpedo depot ship at St Malo. The funnel extension was a French addition

ordinary superstructure. No wonder she had to be cut down after her first trials. They and the absurd little coast-defence ships *Tonnerre*, *Tempête*, *Fulminant*, *Tonnant*, *Furieux*, etc.—thank goodness all the French ships differed and gave us variety, so that what would have been sisters in H.M. Navy as *Massena*, *Charles Martel*, *Carnot* and *Bouvet* differed in everything but their gun disposition.

And perhaps the rarest of all photos—those of the freaks. There are two views of our water-jet propelled armoured gunboat the *Waterwitch*, one in the basin at Devonport, the other in the back reaches up Portsmouth harbour; the U.S. torpedo ram *Alarm* in dock showing her extraordinary bow, and all the strange experimental fighting ships of the Civil War like the three-turret monitor *Roanoke*, the stern-wheel turret-ship *Neosho*; the almost whale-back *Galena* which failed as an ironclad when the *Monitor* withstood cannon fire; the low-hulled casement ironclads *Tennessee* and *Albemarle* upon which the Confederates counted so much; the circular hulled Russian barbette ships *Novgorod* and *Admiral Popoff*, and the turbot-hulled yacht *Livadia* with her three funnels abreast; John Ericsson's *Destroyer* with her wedge-fronted deck-house and under-water bow torpedo tube discharging wooden torpedoes 23 ft. long—a revolutionary idea in 1878; the French armoured cruiser *Dupuy De Lomme* pushing a 60 ft. ram bow which provided buoyancy for the bunch of turrets forward which would have blasted away a forecastle; the Italian monitor *Faa Di Bruno* with a roof-shaped deck surmounted by a huge dome-capped turret, a tripod mast, and a stove-pipe funnel; and Isherwood's four-funnel freak *Wampanoag*, whose machinery for 18 knots took up so much space that she could not carry her armament as a commerce destroyer.

As a collection it has provided illustrations for many biographies and histories, enriched many other collections at home and abroad, and brought me a host of friends. And it still grows, but now only slowly, ignoring the present-day upstart navies and the *poussière navale* which forms so much of the world's fleets.

ARAB ANCHORS

By Richard LeBaron Bowen, Jr.

THE word for anchor is found in a great number of languages in forms which all apparently have a derivation from a common origin, and thus it may be safely said that it is one of the most—if not the most—widely used nautical term with a common origin. ‘Anchor’ (Middle English, *anker*; Anglo-Saxon, *ancor, oncer*) is also found as *akkeri* (Norse), *acair* (Gaelic), *anker* (German), *ancre* (French), *anjar* (Arabic), and *langar* (Persian), to mention a few. It seems that the occurrence of the word in the West may be attributed in many cases directly to Roman rule, in others indirectly to the Latin, *ancora*, which in turn came from the Greek *aykupa*. The occurrence of the word in Arabic and Persian will be discussed later.

According to the Ancients, Anacharsis (c. 600 B.C.) invented the grapnel and Tyrrhenus (c. 400 B.C.) invented the two-arm anchor.¹ By the fifth century B.C. almost all Greek anchors seem to have possessed a stock at the top of the shank. While flukes on the arms are noticeably absent on Greek anchors of the fifth century B.C. to the first century A.D., they are apparent in anchors shown on Roman coins of the third century B.C. and the second century A.D. (Fig. 1).² Well-depicted flukes are also shown on two Christian stone seals of the third and fourth centuries A.D. (Fig. 1).³

There are of course flukes shown on an anchor in the Bayeux tapestries of the eleventh century showing the Norman invasion of England, and there are a few scattered examples in the twelfth century.⁴ The occurrence of flukes on the anchor arms up to the twelfth century is definitely the exception, rather than the rule. Starting in the thirteenth century, however, flukes became practically universal on the anchors of the West. Of over 250 thirteenth- to nineteenth-century anchors shown by Moll (from paintings, manuscripts, sculptures, coins and seals), the arms have flukes at their ends almost without exception.⁵

The common two-arm anchor would be of little use if there were no stock on the shank. There would be nothing to direct the points of the arms into the bottom, and the arms would simply drag flatwise over the bottom,

¹ J. W. van Nouhuys, ‘The Anchor’, *M.M.*, Vol. 37 (1951), p. 35.

² F. Moll, *Das Schiff in der Bildenden Kunst* (Bonn, 1929), plate E IIa, figs. b-6, b-10, b-11, b-57.

⁴ *Ibid.* plate E IIb, figs. 1-9, 1-10.

³ *Ibid.* plate E IIa, figs. e-14, e-15.

⁵ *Ibid.* plate E IIb.

unless the bottom were rough so that the arms could catch on projecting rock or coral. It seems that when the Greeks or the Romans showed the stock missing, it was probably intended to depict another type of anchor than the two-arm anchor with stock: the grapnel anchor with four or more arms.

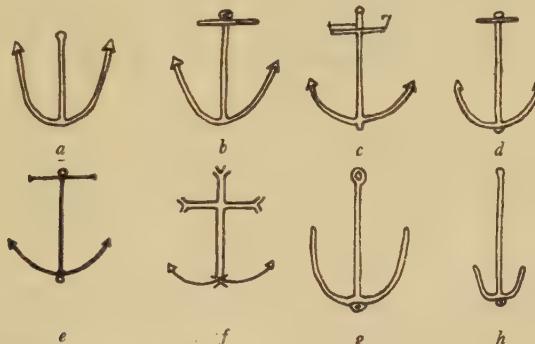


Fig. 1. Early anchors from the Mediterranean. (a), (b), (c), Roman anchors c. 300 B.C. shown on coins; (d) second century A.D. anchor shown on Roman coin; (e), (f) third and fourth century A.D. anchors shown on Christian seals; (g), (h) first and second century A.D. grapnels shown on Roman coins.

Of the forty-eight representations that Moll¹ shows of anchors from Greek coins, from the fifth century B.C. to the first century A.D., only two are definitely without stocks, and these two are so crude that they could be tridents or spears. However, such is certainly not the case with anchors which Moll² shows from Roman coins: of eighteen from the third century B.C. about 28% have no stocks; of twenty-four from the second and first centuries B.C., about 37% have no stocks; of twenty from the first century to the third century A.D., about 65% have no stocks. Many of these Roman anchors are so well drawn that there can be little doubt that they were intended to represent grapnels (Fig. 1 g, h). In many of these grapnels the arms curve around more than in a two-arm anchor. Evidence to substantiate this conclusion is found in an actual Roman grapnel preserved in the Haag Museum which has four curved arms at one end and a ring at the other end.³ The grapnel-type anchor appears to have shared equal popularity with the two-arm anchor in medieval and later times, for of the 250 anchors from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries which Moll shows, about half appear to be grapnels.

The Arabs of the Persian Gulf use three distinct types of anchors (Fig. 2), each of which is known by its own name. One known as *sinn*, is a stone anchor made of a flat rock with a metal pin (pointed at each end) wedged

¹ *Ibid.* plate E IIa, figs. a-1 to a-48.

² *Ibid.* plate E IIa, figs. b-1 to b-64.

³ *Ibid.* plate E IIa, fig. c-92.

with wood in a hole through the lower end of the rock (Fig. 2 *a*). At the other end there is a hole which sometimes has a short length of chain, or the anchor line may pass directly through the hole. The smaller ones are roughly oval, but the larger ones are pendant shaped, with a roughly straight bottom edge. *Sinn* is also Arabic for 'tooth', and is sometimes applied to other cogged or jagged objects. It is interesting to note that the

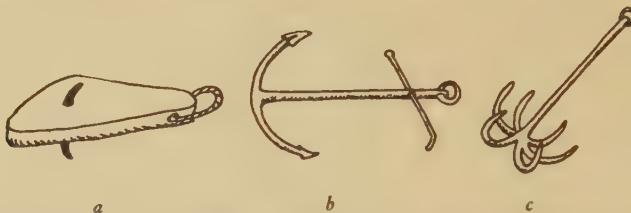


Fig. 2. Anchors used by the Arabs of the Persian Gulf. (a) *Sinn*, flat slab of stone with iron spike through the lower part; (b) *Bawarah*, a two-arm iron anchor with a collapsible stock; (c) *Anjar*, a grapnel with four or six arms, with or without flukes at the arm ends.

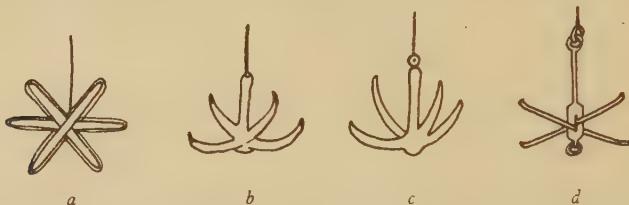


Fig. 3. Thirteenth-century Arab anchors of the grapnel type shown on Arabic miniatures.
Note the 'claws' the artist has painted on (b).

Latin writers often termed the arm of an anchor its tooth and spoke of its bite.¹ Van Nouhuys relates that even to-day '... in widely different parts of the world the claws of the cat and the teeth of the dog are quite naturally borrowed to connote the hooking, clutching or nipping qualities of the iron grapnel and anchor'.² It is interesting to note that one of the thirteenth-century Arab grappnels illustrated here has the ends of each of the four arms painted black as if to represent claws (Fig. 3 *b*).

I have never seen a *sinn* on the South Arabian coast or in the Red Sea. It is commonly used up and down the east coast of Arabia in the Persian Gulf and on Bahrein Island. I do not know whether or not it is used on the Persian coast of the Persian Gulf, but it seems likely that it is. It is used only on smaller craft and is favoured by fishermen and pearlers. It is excellent for the flat muddy bottoms in the area. The smaller anchors run around 50 lb., while the larger ones may weigh over 100 lb.

1 C. Torr, *Ancient Ships* (Cambridge University Press, 1895), p. 70, note 155.

2 J. W. van Nouhuys, *op. cit.* p. 36.

The Arabs also use the common two-arm anchor with a collapsible metal stock known as *bawara* (or *bawarah*) (Fig. 2 b). This type of anchor was best known in the West in the days of the sailing ships. The collapsible stock is very convenient in stowing such an anchor, for with a permanent stock the anchor is extremely unwieldy. The arms of these Arab anchors have well-formed flukes on their ends. These anchors are found on the largest Arab craft, as well as on smaller craft, where the anchors are proportionally smaller.

The Arabs also use grapnels, which have four or six arms and are called *anjar* (*angar*) (Fig. 2 c). Some of the grapnels have flukes at the ends of their arms, others have not. Flukes are less important with this type of anchor, which is usually used for lighter work than the two-arm anchor.

The Arabic names for these anchors give us an excellent means for estimating when and by whom these anchors were introduced. There seems no reason to doubt that the *sinn* is a form of stone anchor indigenous to the Persian Gulf, since it is a very primitive form. It further seems that originally the stout pin through the hole in the lower part of the stone was composed of wood.

This same type of anchor is also found in other parts of the world in a very similar form. In the Gilbert Islands a simple wooden pin was fixed to the surface of a flat stone.¹ It is also apparently prevalent along the Spanish coast and in the Canary Islands.² It is interesting to speculate whether or not the Arabs introduced this form of anchor to Spain in their long occupation of the Iberian Peninsula. If they did not, then there can be no doubt that this was simply one of the most primitive forms of anchors with arms.

The writer regards this form of anchor as the link between the earliest monolithic sinkers and the four-arm killicks. This is highly speculative, for van Nouhuys argues for a direct evolution of the killick from the branched tree stump form of anchor.³ He regards the stone slab with the wooden or steel pin through it as a degeneration of the killick.⁴ The fallacy in van Nouhuys's theory seems to be the fact that the first anchors used by man were undoubtedly simple rock sinkers. The use of branched stumps, which had to be weighted properly to sink, must have been secondary to the stone anchor.⁵

The generic word for 'anchor' in Arabic is *anjar*, just as 'anchor' in English is generic and can refer to a grapnel or a simple stone anchor, as

¹ *Ibid.* p. 29.

² *Ibid.* fig. 4.

³ *Ibid.* p. 19.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 22, note 2.

⁵ Along certain stretches of the Massachusetts (U.S.A.) coast the fishermen who go out in small boats still use a simple stone anchor. This is because the bottom is so rocky that an iron grapnel or two-arm anchor tends to become fouled and thus easily lost. A lost rock can be easily replaced. Besides this, a round rock can be freed more easily than an iron anchor.

well as to a two-arm anchor. In medieval Arabic manuscripts of the tenth to twelfth centuries the Arabic for anchor is invariably given as *anjar*. This would have little significance if it were not for the fact that we are fortunate in having quite a few thirteenth-century Arab miniatures of ships which show anchors hanging from the bows; they are all grapnels (Fig. 3).¹ Thus in medieval times, while *anjar* may have been a generic term referring to any type of anchor, it was used specifically to indicate a grapnel, just as to-day it is also the word for grapnel. Most of these medieval grapnels are crudely drawn, and there are both four- and six-armed specimens shown. None of these has flukes on the arms.

The origins of present-day Arab seafaring are to be found in the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman. They started in Sassanid times with the Persians and culminated in medieval times with the Arabs.² Many of the Arab nautical terms used to-day can be shown to be of Persian origin.³ Whatever the ancient Sabaean mariners of south-west Arabia may have developed that was unique was lost when the South Arabian dialects succumbed to Arabic with the coming of Islam. Thus we are justified in considering only the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman in looking for the origin of the grapnel, which has been known specifically as *anjar* since medieval times.

Hourani⁴ has suggested that the Arabic *anjar* (*angar*) came from the Persian *langar* as the *l* became part of the Arabic article: *al-langar*, then *al-angar* (*anjar*).⁵ Dr Hourani has also written me that a reverse mechanism is possible, if the Persians thought that the Arabs were saying *al-langar*. But he states that it does not seem plausible. In view of the known Persian origin of so many Arabic nautical terms, it seems that *anjar* probably came from the Persian *langar*. At any rate it seems that the two must be related, and further that they must have originally come from the Greek *aykupa*.

It is well known that the Greeks under Admiral Nearchus sent a fleet from India in 325 B.C. to explore the Persian Gulf, and that they reached the head of the Gulf. It is also known that shortly before Alexander the Great's death in 323 B.C., three ships were sent out from the Euphrates for preliminary exploration down the Gulf. A Greek inscription relating to a shipwreck was found by H. R. P. Dickson on Failaka Island just off Kuwait in the Persian Gulf and has been dated from between 400 and

¹ Sources for Fig. 3: *a* and *d* from Moll, *op. cit.* plate A III, figs. 3 and 4; *b* from Bibliothèque Nationale, Arabe MS. 5847, f. 121.

² G. F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), pp. 36-46.

³ *Ibid.* p. 65.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 99.

⁵ A similar mechanism is seen in Persian *narang* = French *une orange* = English *an orange*.

100 B.C. by Laurence Lockhart.¹ This inscription may possibly be equated with some of Alexander's explorations, or it may indicate some unrecorded voyage. Roman maritime activity in the Indian Ocean was at its height in the first and second centuries of the Christian era and tapered off in the third century. This trade was in the hands of the Greek merchants of Alexandria, but the ships they used can only be called 'Roman'. Roman ships undoubtedly made trips to the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman.

As was seen above, the grapnel apparently first appears on Roman coins in the third century B.C., but it is not evident in a definite form on any Greek coins from the fifth century B.C. to the first century A.D. From this evidence it does not seem possible that any of Alexander's expeditions could have introduced the grapnel to the Persian Gulf. It seems that Roman sailors (probably Greeks) must have introduced it in either the first or the second century A.D. We have seen above that over half of the Roman anchors during this period were of the grapnel type, so that it was in common use at this time.

We have also seen above that the two-arm anchor with a stock was well established in Greece by the fifth century B.C., but that flukes were not evident in Greek anchors. Thus it seems quite certain that the two-arm *bawarah* of the Arabs could not have been introduced in Alexander's time. Since flukes were found only occasionally in Roman times, and since the collapsible stock was apparently not used by the Romans, it does not seem that they could have introduced this anchor either. It seems that the *bawarah* was probably adopted by the Arabs sometime in the eighteenth century from the English, since 'bower' was the English word for an anchor carried in the bows. Britain was the dominant power in the Persian Gulf in the eighteenth century, and some of the Arab ports even possessed square-rigged ships. By 1809 the port of Muscat possessed forty square-rigged ships between 300 and 700 tons, many of them purchased from the French, which incidentally were English prizes.²

Thus, in summary, it seems that the stone anchor (*sinn*) of the Persian Gulf is indigenous to that area. The grapnel (*anjar*) was probably introduced to the Persian Gulf in the first or second century of the Christian era by Graeco-Roman sailors, while the fluked two-arm anchor with collapsible stock (*bawarah*) was undoubtedly introduced by the British in the eighteenth century.

¹ L. Lockhart, 'Outline of the History of Kuwait', *Royal Central Asian Journal*, July–October 1947.

² R. Coupland, *East Africa and its Invaders* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938), p. 107.

SHIP BUILDING IN IPSWICH, 1700-1750

By A. G. E. Jones

IN the middle of the seventeenth century Ipswich was a busy place for shipbuilding. In 1673, according to Richard Blome, the town had six building berths and had enough labour for quick delivery. About that time nearly twenty ships were built each year. The decay set in sharply, and by 1685 Ipswich was one of the east-coast ports 'where many stout Shipps were yearly built for the coal and other trades' which now suffered.⁽¹⁾

The trade of the town also declined. Celia Fiennes visited Ipswich in 1698 and found that: 'They have a little dock where formerly they built ships of 200 or 300 ton, but Little or Nothing is minded save a little ffishing for ye supply of ye town.* The wool trade had fallen off. In 1719 it was proposed to build a navigation to Stowmarket, but the plan was rejected by Ipswich Corporation on the ground that it would take trade away from the town. Ipswich had lost to Yarmouth its leading position in the Newcastle coal trade. The River Orwell was silting up, but that was nothing new. Mr Killigrew† had described Ipswich to Charles II as a river without water, and Sir James Thornhill commented on the same point in 1711. This was no great handicap as, according to Celia Fiennes, ships of 300 tons could come up to the Key and First Rates could come up within two miles of the town. The war had reduced the import and export trades and had interfered with the coasting trade. The impressing of men had brought about a shortage of seamen. In brief, the maritime trade of Ipswich and its shipbuilding were more depressed than they had been for many decades.⁽²⁾ The parish registers show that the population of the town fell markedly at this time.

We know little of the early shipbuilders of Ipswich. Some of them are

* It is difficult to give a precise picture of the state of the port of Ipswich at this time. According to Add. MS. 11,255, Ipswich in 1709 and 1716 had 1098 tons of shipping in the coasting trade, 260 tons in foreign trade and 128 tons in fishing. These figures are suspect because they did not change. They are clearly on the low side. In 1702, according to another source (Public Record Office, AD/1/3862, reprinted in Macpherson, David, *Annals of Commerce*, Edinburgh 1805, Vol. II, p. 79n.), Ipswich had 39 vessels totalling 11,170 tons. So far as the coal trade is concerned, Ipswich sent 40 ships to Newcastle in 1702-4. Defoe in 1724 (*Tour Through England*, Vol. I, p. 42) said that Ipswich had 40 sail of good colliers. This agrees fairly well with the Ipswich Corporation coal meters' accounts for the years 1718-34, which record the arrival of 63 Ipswich ships totalling some 4000 tons.

† This statement has also been attributed to the Duke of Buckingham, and to the King himself.

little more than names. Amos Pilgrim, shipwright, in 1700 sold a messuage in the parish of St Mary Stoke* formerly in the occupation of Blaine, shipwright. In 1701 James Hovell was a shipwright in the parish of St Clement. H. Brooke, who is said to have been an eminent shipbuilder, died on 22 March 1706, at the age of 88 and was buried in St Clement's Church. Samuel Turner senior, shipwright, made his will in Ipswich on 3 March 1706. He had three sons, the second of whom was a shipwright in St Clement's parish.†

In 1719 John Taylor, shipwright, was admitted to the freedom of the Corporation of Ipswich on the payment of half a crown.‡ In 1720 Mrs Wright (who no doubt came from a family that was connected with shipping in Ipswich in the seventeenth century) had a shipyard in St Clement's parish. The rating assessment suggests that it was the largest in the town. In 1715 Edward Constable bequeathed property which had been left to his wife by her father, John Hall, ship carpenter. John Darley, shipwright, was buried in St Clement's in 1734. In his will he mentioned three sons, John, Thomas and Edward. He bequeathed his tools of trade to Edward who was building ships at Woodbridge when he died about the year 1751. (3)

Another shipbuilder, about whom little is known, is William Hubbard who built the *Greyhound* for the Navy in 1703. In 1689 he held a shipyard in St Clement's parish (though it was occupied by John Luscoe) and property in three other parishes. In 1691 he held and occupied a garden and a timber hill in St Clement's. He was living at South Side, St Clement's, in 1702. He was then rated at £3 per annum and had vendible stock assessed at £50. It is strange that a builder who had such small resources should have been given a contract by the Navy Board. Arthur Moxsum, an Ipswich shipwright, made a will which was proved in February 1742/3, but no light is thrown on the extent of his trade. (4)

The early shipyards were largely in St Clement's parish. Outside the walls of the town and at the edge of the populated part, a considerable expanse of flat land sloped gently down to the water's edge just where the bend of the river brought the deep channel close in to the left bank. It was well situated for bringing in timber both by land and sea. It is quite likely that the Ipswich galley of 1295 was built in this place. There was also a yard in the parish of St Mary Stoke, on the right bank, about a mile

* One of the riverside parishes of the town. The other parishes on the river are St Peter, St Mary Key and St Clement.

† The will of Samuel Turner senior was proved on 30 June 1712. His three sons were Samuel, John and William. John's will was signed on 17th September 1735 and was proved on 21 May 1737. (East Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Wills, 1712-14, fo. 195; 1734-7, fo. 261.)

‡ The date of his death is not certain. He made his will on 13 February 1735/6 and it was proved in 1744. (Ipswich Wills, 1744-6, fo. 77.)

down the river where the channel came within 150 yards of the shore. Of the business organization of the shipbuilders we know nothing. A few appear to have been continuously in trade. Others may (like the smaller shipbuilders in Durham) have been ship carpenters who clubbed together (with the help of timber merchants) to start a business in the hope of improving their position.⁽⁵⁾

John Darley's executor was Isaac Sutton. Though he was very active in the town's politics, little is known about Sutton's work. In 1689 he had a house and yards in Wix Bishop (in St Clement's parish) and he was occupying other property there. He had other property which was occupied by Mr Wright. The rate books suggest that this latter was the largest shipyard in the town. In 1710 Sutton had a timber yard in St Peter's parish. He died in 1722 and was buried in St Clement's church. Isaac Sutton junior was born in 1700 or 1702. His will (made in 1729/30 and proved in 1737) shows that he owned a timber mill in St Clement's and a shipyard which until recently had been occupied by John Clemens. The will of John Sutton, shipwright (made in 1758 and proved in 1762), suggests that the trade may have continued in the family.⁽⁶⁾

John Clements, in 1728, occupied property in Wix Bishop then owned by Isaac Sutton. He had a small smith's shop in the same manor or hamlet in 1702. Seven years later, when he was buying a tenement in St Clement's, he was described as a shipwright. The rate assessments of 1710 suggest that he was then fairly prosperous; he was assessed at £6 for property that he owned and occupied, and his personal estate was valued at £50. When the petition was presented in 1716 by the merchants of Ipswich, and the masters of Ipswich ships, against the confirmation of the Town dues, John Clements's name appeared among the list of foreigners. Probably he was a Harwich man, as in 1731 a John Clements was mayor of that town. In 1729 he sold his house and land in the shipyard.⁽⁷⁾

The most important shipbuilder in Ipswich was Edmund Goodea. His first appearance in the history of the town was in 1718 when he was assessed at 3s. 7d. as a 'Shippwright' in St Clement's. In 1720 he was rated at 6s. 9½d. This small sum, together with the absence of his name from the petition of 1716, suggests that he was newly arrived in the town.*

In 1723 he was given the freedom of the town on the payment of £10 which he did not pay until 1725. At that time he had two apprentices, John Barnard and Samuel Turner, both of whom became well known as

* He may, however, have been the son of Thomas Goodey who appeared in St Clement's rating assessment in 1710 for £4. 10s. od. 'Thomazin Goodea, Widow' was buried in St Clement's church on 22 March 1728; she may have been his mother. (Assessments, 1710, fo. 165. St Clement's Register, Burials.)

shipbuilders.* He was evidently still short of capital in 1735 when the Great Court of the Corporation agreed, '£20 of the money given to be lent to tradesmen without interest to be lent to Edmund Goodea shipwright for 5 years'. He married Mary Ward of Rendham in 1739, but he had no sons following him in the trade.(8)

In 1724 the Treasurer of Ipswich paid him 11s. 6d. 'for mending ye Barge'. He leased, four years later, from Arthur Barnardiston of Brightwell Hall a shipyard in Ipswich for 21 years at £26 per annum. The property was described as the

messuage or tenement Hoghouse in use as a Smiths shop in the occupation of Nicholas Hague and Richard Smart as a Smith's shop and small cottage in the occupation of William Wright and also two Keys or Key hards lying between and also a Yard Key or Port late in the possession of Mary Barnardiston and now in the occupation of Edmund Goody all of which premises are abutted upon the Channell flowing from Bone Bridge towards the Common Key of Ipswich on the part of the West and upon the highway leading from the East corner to the Southermost part of the sd. premises on the part of the East . . . of the Manor of Wix Bishop belonging to Isaac Sutton in the present occupation of John Clemens . . . †

In 1741 Goodea built the hull of the *William and Mary*, a sloop of 70 tons, for William Cole, a Colchester merchant, for £305. The building of this vessel led to friction with the Navy Board. His old apprentice, John Barnard, was building the *Hampshire* at John's Ness, about two miles further down the river. Shipwrights who had left their work on the *Hampshire* were finding employment with Goodea. He was told by the Navy Board that his protections would be withdrawn if this practice did not cease. Trade rivalry lay behind this warning. Three years later, when Barnard was building for the Navy in his yard at Harwich, he heard that Goodea had gone to London to open negotiations for building a ship at Ipswich. Barnard claimed that this would be prejudicial to the work at Harwich. John Barnard had the Navy Board on his side, since their Minute read: 'Own the receipt and Acqt. him that Mr Goody hath not as yet made any proposal to Us for Building a Ship for his Majesty, that when he does we shall take care his Majties Service is not prejudiced thereby.' Because of this powerful influence Goodea never did obtain a contract from the Navy. He remained a comparatively small builder of vessels for the merchant service. In 1746, when a *Subscription for the support of His Majesty's Person and Government* was made, Goodea subscribed only five guineas. His former apprentice gave £30.(9)

* Later he had as apprentices John Turner, who was afterwards a shipbuilder at Ipswich and Harwich, Dennis Bacon, John Prentice and John Pooley. (Great Court Book, 11. v. 1741, 18. viii. 1747, 17. viii. 1749. Freemen's Admissions, 4. xi. 1751.)

† His signature reads Edmund Goodea. In his will he also referred to a house, with outhouses, warehouses, moulding loft, yards, gardens and other premises and appurtenances. (Ipswich Wills, 1754-58, ff. 580-3).

Goodea was elected one of the town's Chamberlains in 1750, but was excused serving the office. In 1754 he appeared in the poll list.⁽¹⁰⁾ He then made no further appearances in the life of the town, and there is no record of his death.* It could be claimed that through his apprentices he was the founder of the Ipswich shipbuilding trade which was active for the next hundred years.

The Barnards were, for much of the eighteenth century, the most important family of shipbuilders in Ipswich. The first John Barnard was a mariner who came to the town from Plymouth. His wife Rebecca was the daughter of John Pattison, a merchant of Plymouth. In 1709, two years after his arrival, John Barnard, shipwright, was living in Wix Bishop and held a dockyard. By the following year he was holding a house and dockyard in St Clement's parish, rated at £2 compared with John Clements's rate of £6 and Isaac Sutton's rate of £16. He was made a freeman of the town in 1711. Barnard died on 18 January 1717 at the age of 52 and was buried at the east end of St Clement's churchyard.⁽¹¹⁾ No details of his shipbuilding have survived.

John Barnard had two sons, William and John. William became a merchant and ship chandler. In the years 1729-40 he was making tenders to the Navy Board for the supply of tallow and tallow candles. John Barnard junior, who was born in 1705, was apprenticed to Edmund Goodea. It is not known when he became an independent builder. He may possibly have done so by taking over his father's business at the age of 21.† In 1732 the Headboroughs of Ipswich complained that he had enclosed St Peter's Dock.⁽¹²⁾

At the end of 1739 the Navy Board made contracts for three new ships, and one of these contracts—for a 24-gun ship—was given to John Barnard. This vessel, the *Biddeford*, a sixth rate of 423 tons, was launched on the spring tide on 15 June 1740, and was taken down to Harwich to be rigged. According to the newspaper reports of the time she was built to carry 24 carriage guns, 1 mortar and 10 swivel guns. From this time onward Barnard was employed regularly by the Navy Board. He also built a large number of merchant ships. Early in the 1740's he entered into partnership with John Turner (who had also been apprenticed to Goodea) and began building at Harwich as well as at Ipswich. By the 1760's he had entered into partnership with Dudman, and extended his operations to the River.‡ The firm of Barnard and Dudman continued well into the

* His will, dated 8 July 1754, was proved on 21 June 1756.

† He may have done so before this as the charter of corporation of Ipswich allowed a boy to hold property from the age of 14.

‡ He may have been the son who was baptised at St Clement's in 1735. (St Clement's Register, Baptisms.)

nineteenth century. John Barnard became bankrupt in 1781. He died at Deptford in October 1784 and was buried in St Clement's church in Ipswich. William Barnard* also built ships in Ipswich and was in partnership with Dudman at least until 1793.⁽¹³⁾

Precise information as to the position of the yards is hard to find. John Ogilby's map of Ipswich, published in 1674, showed three shipyards in the parish of St Clement and the Manor of Wix Bishop; they had an area of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres in all. Bucks' *View of Ipswich*, published in 1741, showed the three same yards, rather altered in shape and somewhat larger. In 1764 John Kirby in his *Suffolk Traveller* said there were three yards in use, and when Joseph Pennington published his map of the town in 1768 the three yards were still there, though, once again, the shape had been changed. Edmund Goodea occupied one or two of these yards in 1728, and another owned by Isaac Sutton was occupied by John Clements. A third yard was probably occupied by John Barnard; he had probably taken it over from H. Brook. It was here that he built the *Biddeford*, and possibly several other ships later in the century.

A deed enrolled with the Corporation in 1713 showed that in the parish of St Mary Stoke there was a messuage and a shipyard with marshlands and a dock covering six acres in all. This was in all probability the yard near Bourne Bridge which was later named Nova Scotia by John Barnard. When it was built is not known, but the deed said it was bought by John Blichenden (or Blissingham) from Edward Bartley as early as 1670. In 1668 Blichenden was described as a shipwright, and in 1685 was assessed for £5. The assessment for 1702 read 'St Mary Stoke, John Blichenden in his own £6'. The deed of 1713 said that the yard was or had been in the occupation of George Campion and David Driver, but unfortunately nothing more is known of these men. The shipyard must have passed into the hands of John Goslin of Colchester, a glover, as it was from him that John Barnard bought it in 1749. It was in active use almost until the end of the eighteenth century. In the parish of St Mary Stoke in 1716 there was a Nicholas Burrage, shipwright.⁽¹⁴⁾ It is probable that he was a working shipwright with no yard of his own.

There were two docks in St Peter's parish at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1760, one dock on one side of the river was held by John Dymock (a master mariner who had become a ship builder), and the other on the opposite bank was held by Josiah Harris, a deal merchant. The dock on the north bank of the river ran back a few yards from the edge of the quay towards College Street. The other stood on the south bank where

* His shipyard was at Deptford, near the Greenland dock; the Southern Railway now has a coal wharf there.

the King's Cooperidge once stood. This yard may have come into existence at the end of the seventeenth century. In later years it passed into the hands of Pearl Betts and later the Bayley family.⁽¹⁵⁾

The main source of information for the history of shipbuilding in Ipswich is the *Ipswich Journal*. In its early years it was a news sheet with little local information, and until 1739 the series is incomplete. Information before this date is therefore scarce. In 1703 the *Greyhound* frigate, a fifth rate of 494 tons* with 36 to 40 guns, was built at John's Ness at a cost of about £5000. Five years later (in 1708) the *William and Mary* pink or cat of 350 tons was built in the town. She carried 8 or 12 guns and had a crew of 28 or 31 men. The *Richard and Joseph*, which was sent to Stockholm in 1711 for naval stores, was built in Ipswich at some unknown date. The *Humphrey* cat of 300 tons, Thomas Raffe, master, was quite clearly built in the town where she was owned and where her master lived. She carried coal into Ipswich in 1726 and was employed in the London coal trade; she was sold at Lloyd's Coffee House in 1743 when the master died. The *John and Mary* brigantine of 50 tons was also built at Ipswich, though the date is not known. She was engaged in the Ipswich coal trade in the 1720's and the 1730's.⁽¹⁶⁾

In 1718 the *Aby* pink of 400 tons, 8 guns, carrying a crew of 32 men, was launched in Ipswich. Like the *William and Mary* she seems to have been employed in foreign trade; in the 1730's she was used by the Navy Board to transport troops. In 1721 the *Aby* cat of 350 tons was launched. She had a crew of 20 men and carried 8 guns. The name of Captain Kell appears in connexion with both vessels, in one case as owner and in the other as master. Captain Kell died in 1745; at that time he had a deal yard in Woodbridge. These facts suggest that the two ships may in fact be one, but the difference in tonnage, the height between decks and the number of crew makes it more likely that they were separate vessels. The latter vessel was also described as being of 360 tons with 12 guns, and 1714 is also given as the date of building. The *Prosperous Ann* was launched in 1721 or 1723. She was a cat of 250/270 tons; she had a crew of 12 or 24 men and carried 8 or 12 guns. The *Mary Ann* of 230 tons, 15 men and 8 guns, was built in Ipswich in 1722. In 1734 a wherry with a State room with a fireplace for passengers was built for John Woolward who ran a regular service between Ipswich and Harwich. In 1740 the *Bee*, a square-sterned sloop of about 45 tons, was launched in the town. The names of the builders are not given, but it appears likely that the larger vessels were built by Brook or Barnard, while the smaller vessels were built by Goodea or the other builders.⁽¹⁷⁾

* This vessel was referred to as a galley in 1711 (P.R.O., AD 106/2889, Navy Board Minutes, 15. x. 1711.)

In 1724 Defoe said that he had seen a ship of 400 tons launched at the building-yard close to the town—presumably in St Clement's parish. Unfortunately he gives no date, and because of the uncertainty of his movements it is impossible to say when he would have been in the town to witness this event. He also stated that he was once in the town when a very fine new ship was launched for some London merchants. It must have been a large vessel as it attracted, he said, 20,000 spectators. Again he gives no date. But it does appear that about 1710 there was a recovery in ship-building. This was bound up with the cessation of the war, the recovery of shipping (particularly the coal trade) and the renewed growth of the population of the town.⁽¹⁸⁾ Orders came from outside Suffolk, particularly for larger vessels.

Several others sources mention ships which were most probably Ipswich-built.

There was the *John's Employment* of Ipswich which was lost off the coast of Utland about 1703. The *Henry and Anne* hoy was Ipswich-owned in 1711. The *New Agreement* of 254/310 tons, John Hammond master, was in the coal trade in 1712, and trading from Ipswich in 1716. The *Homer* pink, 90 tons, was employed in the Ipswich coal trade in 1729 and was Ipswich owned. The *Alp* sloop, which carried 30-35 chalder of coal, arrived in Ipswich with coal in 1731 and 1733 under an Ipswich master, Robert Hamblin. The *John and Edward* sloop, 30 tons, of Ipswich, was surely locally built. The *Hopewell* sloop of about 50 tons, which was sold in 1744, was probably built in Ipswich. The *Providence* brig employed in the east coast coal trade with an Ipswich master; the sloop of 60 tons sold by Widow Cuff when her husband Edward Cuff, the master, of St Clement's, died; the fishing boat of 16 tons offered for sale by Thomas Searles, ship carpenter, of St Clement's by John Sharp, shipwright in 1748; and several others would all most probably have been built in local yards.⁽¹⁹⁾

The war against Spain, so often called the war of Jenkins's Ear, began in October 1739. The Navy Board had already placed orders for fourth-rates and 20-gun and 40-gun ships when John Barnard was ordered to build the *Biddeford*. It is by no means clear how he obtained this contract. He does not appear to have made a tender. The Navy Board sent anchors, cables, masts, rigging sails and stores to Barnard for the launching which was due to take place on 30 May 1740. It did not, however, take place until a fortnight later. The *Biddeford* was taken to Harwich to be rigged, but even in the King's Yard, William Slade, the Navy Board's overseer, was unable to obtain a main top-mast. He was ordered to use one of the sheers. The ship went into service at the end of 1740 or the beginning of 1741.

Barnard made a contract in May 1740 to build a 50-gun ship at £12 per

ton. She was launched on the last spring tide in November 1741, the date that he suggested. The masts and rigging were transported to Ipswich at his expense. This ship was the *Hampshire*, a fourth-rate of 854 tons. She was built according to the establishment of 1733. She carried only 48 guns instead of 50, to lighten her. The crew numbered 350. John Barnard at first proposed to build her at John's Ness, but apparently Slade objected that the river was too shallow and narrow at that point. John Cornelius, Collector of the Customs at Ipswich and a Freeman and a merchant of the town, wrote to the Navy Board to say that the details given by Slade were not right, that there was 14 feet of water at the lowest ebb and that there was a breadth of 140 feet at that depth. The banks, he said, were so high, that a ship could not float on them and the soft ooze was no danger. He added that not far away, near Downham Bridge, four large colliers of 400 or 500 tons (two of them loaded) had passed the winter linked together. In September Slade was ordered to finish his draught of the river as soon as possible, and next month the building of the *Hampshire* was in hand.⁽²⁰⁾ The reason for Slade's statement is obscure. It cannot have been ignorance, as he would have had ample opportunity for seeing the river at low tide and of learning the depth from the masters of the colliers and from the other ship-builders. Barnard was a newcomer for the Navy Board and trade rivalry may have been the motive.

In September 1742 Barnard brought the pumps for the ship from Woolwich in his own transport and put them in the care of Slade. By the end of October Slade had hauled up the mainmast. The officers at Woolwich dockyard were ordered to hasten the sheers to Harwich as it was considered more convenient to have the other masts stepped near where the ship had been built. Early in November the tenders *Truro* and *Good Intent* were ordered to carry Captain Limeburner, his officers and men and their chests and bedding to the *Hampshire* for the launching. The ship was launched about noon on 13 November, and was taken down to Pin Mill, and delivered to Captain Limeburner who set about pressing men for his crew. Defoe described how the masters and men of as many as 200 colliers would pass the winter in the town of Ipswich. Some of these, no doubt, were pressed for the *Hampshire*.⁽²¹⁾

On 24 August, when the *Hampshire* was as yet unfinished, the Navy Board asked Barnard if he was willing to build a 44-gun ship. Just over a week later he replied that he was willing to do so, but the matter was taken no further. On 23 September they asked him his time and price for building a 24-gun ship. A month later tenders were made for a 44-gun ship. Barnard's price of £10. 10s. od. per ton was well above the Board's offer of £9. 2s. 6d. and the contract went elsewhere. Instead he obtained

the contract for a bomb* or fire ship of 270 tons, the *Granado*. The building was hastened in March 1742 and she was launched on 22 June 1742, presumably from St Clement's yard.(22) This was the last vessel built in Ipswich for the Navy until 1776—mainly because Barnard was building his larger vessels at the King's Yard in Harwich.

During the war years few merchant vessels were built in Ipswich. The sloop *Success* of about 70 tons was launched in 1744. She carried about 270 quarters of barley at an easy draught of water and was employed in the trade between Ipswich and London. Three years later the sloop *Industry* of 70 or 80 tons burthen was built in the town.(23)

By the middle of the eighteenth century there seem to have been only three active shipbuilders in Ipswich—Edmund Goodea, John Barnard and John Dymock who had a yard in St Peter's parish, most probably on the right-hand bank of the river. John Turner, who had served his time with Edmund Goodea and John Prentice, was building at Harwich.† John Prentice, another of Goodea's apprentices, became a freeman of the town in 1749, but he had no yard of his own. Likewise Jonathan Pooley, who became a freeman in 1751 after serving his time with Goodea, and Robert Gooding who learned his trade under John Turner and became a freeman in 1750, had no businesses of their own. Others who appear to have been journeymen were John Martin, shipwright, William Ledgant, shipwright (who made his will in 1741 and had a brother Benjamin who was also a shipwright in the town), Dennis Bacon who became a freeman in 1747, Thomas Searles, ship carpenter, in St Clement's parish, Jeremiah Williamson, shipwright, and the 'late Edward Constable shipwright'. The fact that John Sharpe, shipwright, was thought fit to hold the office of Chamberlain (which he refused on the payment of £5) suggests that he would have been more than a mere shipwright, but there is no record of him as a builder. Samuel Turner of Ipswich, shipwright in St Clement's in 1731, made a will which was proved in 1748.(24)

APPENDIX

Biddeford, built Ipswich by John Barnard. Began 6. xi. 1739, graved 13. vi. 1740, launched 15. vi. 1740. Transported to Harwich 30. vi. 1740. At Harwich 30. vi. 1740-23. viii. 1740. (No price stated.) (Admiralty Library, *Progress Book*, 2, II, p. 355).

* One of six ordered urgently from private builders.

† John Dymock was the brother-in-law of Edmund Goodea, and John Prentice was Goodea's partner and executor. Prentice was also a timber merchant. When he made his will in 1750 John Turner described himself as being of Ipswich. His will referred to messuages in St Clement's in the occupation of Dinah Dimicks (? Dymock), widow, John Turner and William Seymour, shipwright. (Ipswich Wills, 1754-58, ff. 580-3; 1768-70, ff. 9-10. *Ipswich Journal*, 4. v. 1754.)

Hampshire, built by John Barnard. Began 11. vi. 1740, graved Nov. 1741, launched 13. xi. 1741. Sailed 25. xi. 1741. Charge of completing the hull £10,950. 10s. 10d. Charge at Harwich, 27. xi. 1741-17. ii. 1741/2 for rigging, stores, etc., £3451. 13s. 0d. (*Progress Book*, 2, 1, p. 225). Her dimensions were: keel, 74 ft. 9½ in.; breadth, 26 ft. 2 in.; depth in hold, 11 ft. 3 in. She was built to carry 100 men and 28 guns. At first she was ketch rigged, but in 1743-48 she was rigged as a sloop. In 1747 the crew petitioned that she was so bad a sea-boat that she was always wet. She was a bomb again in 1758-63, and was sold by Admiralty Order in 1763. (Charnock, J., Vol. II, p. 271. *Victoria County History of Suffolk*, Vol. II, p. 244.)

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(19) Defoe, 1724, p. 40. House of Lords Manuscripts, Vol. III (N.S.), 1706-8, p. 15. E.C.R., Vol. XXII, fo. iv, 5, fo. xi, 204; Vol. XXIII, fo. II, 21. P.R.O., AD 7/364 Protections. Ipswich Corporation Records, XI/8/2.2 and Meters' Accounts, 1728-9, 1730-1. *Ipswich Gazette*, 21. vii. 1733, 10. xi. 1733. *Ipswich Journal*, 20. x. 1744, 5. i. 1745, 9. iii. 1745, 18. x. 1746, 12. xii. 1747, 24. iii. 1750, 30. ii. 1751.

(20) P.R.O., AD 106/2554, 22. viii. 1740, 9. v. 1740, 17. ix. 1740, 14. x. 1740.

(21) P.R.O., AD 106/2555, Navy Board Minutes, 1741, 2. ix. 1741, 26. x. 1741, 6. xi. 1741, 9. xi. 1741, 30. xi. 1741, 18. xii. 1741. *Ipswich Journal*, 7. xi. 1741, 14. xi. 1741. Defoe, 1724, pp. 42-3.

(22) P.R.O., AD 106/2555, 23. ix. 1741, 28. x. 1741. Charnock, John, *A History of Marine Architecture*, London, 1802, Vol. II, p. 271. *Ipswich Journal*, 24. xi. 1741, 6. iii. 1742, 19. vi. 1742.

(23) *Ipswich Journal*, 5. iii. 1757, 7. v. 1757.

(24) British Museum, Ad. MS. 25,337, ff. 63-4. Ipswich Corporation Records, Great Court Book, 17. viii. 1749, 8. ix. 1750, 15. xii. 1747, 27. ix. 1748. Freemen's Admissions, 17. viii. 1749, 4. xi. 1751. Ipswich Wills, 1741-2, fo. 132; 1747-9, fo. 60. E.C.R., Vol. XXIII, fo. x. 151, 14. x. 1737; fo. x. 199, 11. vii. 1741; fo. x. 317, 29. ix. 1749; fo. x. 325, 4. iv. 1750; fo. 11, 21, 8. ix. 1748, 20. xi. 1748. *Ipswich Journal*, 12. xii. 1747.

JOHN DODSWORTH, A CONSUL IN MALTA

By *Rodenic Cavaliero*

WHEN General Bonaparte, on his way to Egypt, captured the island of Malta, a situation arose which compelled the British government to consider seriously further strategic developments in the Mediterranean. For two and a half centuries the sovereignty of the island had been invested in the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, an international Catholic order vowed to strict neutrality in wars between Christian kingdoms; it was only when the continued existence of the Order was called in doubt after the confiscation of its French property in 1792, that direct allied interest became more marked, an interest which the French capture turned to concern. Up till that moment, however, the position of Malta, ideal as it was as a half-way base to the Levant, had only been put to any real use by the French, and even then only through the Order of St John, to whom they supplied a large proportion of its knights. Evidence suggests that the island was increasingly being used throughout the eighteenth century by French merchant vessels as a commercial entrepôt; customs duties on goods bonded there were less than those of Marseilles, and quarantine could be performed in Malta without the necessity of supplying an exact inventory of a ship's cargo, as was the case in France.¹ The French nation was represented by a chargé d'affaires, who was a Knight of the Order and privileged with special facilities to gain the ear of the Grand Master. Although in theory no power should be more favoured than another in Malta, the French were undoubtedly in a peculiar position.

The English, on the other hand, unrepresented in the Order, and possessed of Minorca as a naval and commercial base, did not find any great occasion to use the facilities of the island. In time of war, particularly, increasing French influence may have persuaded many captains to give the island a miss, unless weather or necessity of some sort or another forced them into harbour. The Order only actually closed its harbours to warships of powers engaged in war with its feudal overlord, the king of Sicily; merchant vessels might use the port for victualling, watering and repairs, safe within Maltese territorial waters from depredation by foreign privateers. As inevitably English interests might need attention, there was an English consul in the island. However, the position of this man was not

¹ Godechot, 'La France et Malthe au 18e. siècle'. *Revue Historique*, Paris, July 1951.

that of a consul in the generally accepted sense. The office of consul as such did not exist; the real duty of the consul of any nation was to take his place in the tribunal for deciding commercial disputes, the Consolato del Mare, where each nation had its consul interpreter, responsible for interpreting in cases concerning co-nationals, and judging in those cases in which he was not concerned.¹ The appointment of anyone to the position of consul lay entirely within the competence of the Grand Master of the Order, who could dismiss him at will, without consulting the government of the nation concerned.² The Grand Master, jealous of any infringement upon his personal sovereignty, refused to allow any official to hold the post with a patent from his home government; this would be to put someone in the island beyond his jurisdiction, and could cause endless difficulty if any consul so appointed wished to invoke an outside power in matters which belonged to the Maltese tribunals. This position did not seem to be understood in London. To the ministers concerned, the consul of Messina, a patented official, nominated his deputy for Malta; in fact, the consul at Messina accepted the Grand Master's choice.³ Two half-hearted attempts had been made in 1713⁴ and 1718⁵ to appoint a consul from London, and in 1713⁶ the French had wanted to do the same from Paris; when the Grand Master showed himself unwilling, the matter was not pressed.

The qualifications for an English consul were few. He had to be a Catholic—the Grand Master would not allow a Protestant in that capacity for more than twelve months—and he had to be a subject of the Grand Master. As it turned out the post was a family one; there were few English traders, and the post was not lucrative, the consul being entitled for his expense to fifty shillings consulage on every English ship which came in.⁶ As a result the consuls combined their post with a private family business. In 1713 the Grand Master appointed Alexander Young as consul;⁷ he was the son-in-law of another Englishman, a merchant in Malta, Joseph Rigord, who had been designated the consul on the dismissal of one Thomas Rutter for incompetence. Rigord did not live to be consul; his own son-in-law in turn was to be succeeded by his son-in-law. Later in the

¹ Public Records Office, London. State Papers 86/2. Memoir on the duties of a British Consul in Malta.

² Archives of the Order in Malta (AOM) MS. Arch. 1474. Letter from Grand Master Perellos to Receiver in Messina, 31 July 1713.

³ P.R.O., S.P. 86/1. Letter from English Consul in Malta, 4 Dec. 1713.

⁴ *Ibid.* Letter from Consul Young to Newcastle, 14 July 1733.

⁵ AOM, Arch. 1561. Letter from G.M. Perellos to de Vieuville, Ambassador in Paris, 18 Feb. 1713 and Arch. 1217 for reply 14 Nov.

⁶ P.R.O., S.P. 86/1. Dodsworth to Newcastle, 11 Nov. 1747.

⁷ AOM, Arch. 517 *Liber Bullarum* 26 Jan. 1714. Young was also appointed consul for Belgians.

century another Rutter was given the post. But the important figure of all these is Young's successor. His name was John Dodsworth.¹

The character of this stormy man is the clue to his career. Born in Tuscany, perhaps Leghorn, he served his youth on board English and Dutch ships. Later he settled in Malaya, married a Maltese wife—the daughter of Young would be accounted a Maltese as she was a subject of the Grand Master—and began a private business of his own.² He bought a prize off an English captain, and, with a special passava, he began to trade with Barbary. The sea was his *métier*—he put his own son on to a British man-of-war on the outbreak of the Seven Years War.³ He liked and understood sailors; he had a sailor's temper and a sailor's eye. The Maltese, unused to that cold vigour and tempestuous impatience which is so often characteristic of the northern sailor, found his appearance forbidding. He had a high forehead and a staring eye, and his angry look and fierce temper filled the islanders with dread.⁴ To the knights he was to be a major problem, endowed with what they called *un torbido genio*.⁵ His tenure of the office of British consul was to cause considerable embarrassment both to the knights and to the English government; the furore that surrounded his activities was to bring the existence of Malta for a short time before her makers of policy. That they did not take the lesson too well to heart was because he tried to drive it home too hard, so that when he was disgraced he was discredited. But at least, in his own way, he warned the British that they should not be too apathetic about the position of Malta, situated as she was right in the middle of the Mediterranean.

The overriding passion of Dodsworth was Francophobia—an emotion he shared with a large number of privateering captains of the day. In a community largely French in sympathy he felt very acutely his position as the representative of the greatest naval power in the world, and regretted that this fact was not sufficiently known. Appointed during the War of the Austrian Succession he had been impressed by the use which the French made of the island as an extra naval base. Privateers were allowed to deposit their prizes there, to pick up supplies (though no extra crew, arms or ammunition) and to sally forth refreshed in search of enemy vessels. Admiral Byng himself had accused Maltese ships of carrying French effects;⁶ though the Order always acted with exaggerated correctness in the event of

¹ A.O.M., Arch. 547 Lib. Bull. Jan. 1744. Dodsworth was also consul for the Swedes and other Northern nations.

² P.R.O., S.P. 86/2. Memoir on the position of the British consul in Malta, 5 Nov. 1763.

³ *Ibid.* Letter from Hannibal Dodsworth to Egremont, 3 Feb. 1763.

⁴ Royal Library of Malta MS. 14 Diary of Ignazio Mifsud, 3 Feb. 1763.

⁵ A.O.M., Arch. 271 Liber Conciliorum Status 5 May 1762.

⁶ P.R.O., S.P. 86/1. Ambassador Froullay to Byng, 12 Jan. 1747.

a prize being disputed after it had been led into Malta, if the case went against the British it was easy to accuse the Maltese witnesses of favouring the French. In the uneasy years that followed the war, Dodsworth's growing chauvinism found plenty to feed on. He found himself more than once in the wrong over small matters of behaviour and etiquette, and was accused of a lack of proper regard for the person of the Grand Master himself, the Inquisitor, and the various tribunals of the island. When this involved him in governmental censure, he wrote to the Secretary of State for Southern Affairs that it was time British men of war appeared in Maltese waters 'to inculcate that respect which is due to our Colours and for want thereof is much diminished'.¹

Dodsworth's grievances against his nominated position and against the limitations of his power were genuinely felt, but it is difficult to separate from his desire for greater scope a less worthy desire to shelter under consular protection in the pursuit of his personal ends. His position was, it is true, inferior to that of the representatives of Catholic powers: he was unable as they to hold a court of his own to decide cases which concerned English traders alone, and which had to go before the *Consolato de Mare* where he could only appear as an interpreter. He had no power to imprison refractory English sailors, a privilege enjoyed by other nations,² and on one occasion he bitterly complained that a case concerning a British trader and a disputed cargo had been taken out of his hands, his instructions countermanded and, on the Grand Master's orders, another English trader set against him 'who seems resolved to behave in the most outrageous and daring manner, even to affronting me personally in publick, to the no small satisfaction of th'Abettors which I very much suspect is done to oblige me to some violent measures whereon to found a complaint against me, or to have a pretext for using violence on my person'.³

The abettors are of course the French. As a result he importuned England for a patent, but the British government only moved to the extent of taking up the matter with the Order's ambassador in Paris. Dodsworth, however, was too eager to apply for support; there is something in his part of the transaction that is none too straightforward; but it is only in the light of his future activities that we are justified in supposing that his conduct of the case in the first place may have been corrupt.

It was only on the outbreak of the Seven Years War that the ambitions of his restless soul became clear; as this was as usual a privateering war, the Order's position was a delicate one. The regulations governing the behaviour

¹ P.R.O., S.P. 86/2. Dodsworth to Holderness, 18 Apr. 1753.

² *Ibid.* Dodsworth to Holderness, 16 Mar. 1754.

³ *Ibid.* Dodsworth to Holderness, 30 June 1754.

of belligerent vessels in Grand Harbour were well known; those concerning armament have been already mentioned. As for prizes, they could be brought to Malta and their cargoes lodged in the Lazaretto; in the case of dispute, the Grand Master could sequester them pending a decision in the appropriate prize court. Prizes, however, could not be sold in Malta until they had been declared good; experience had taught the Order to insist on this.¹ The regulations were reasonable and impartial, but Dodsworth chose to hold that they were being interpreted inequitably and that the French were being permitted to break them with impunity.

As soon as the war opened, a dispute began. An official declaration of war did not come until the French attack on Port Mahon in April 1765. On 18 December 1755 Captain Louis Jouvin, commanding the privateer *L'Hippolyte*, entered Grand Harbour.² She had a complement of seventeen men and an armament of twelve cannon. On 2 March 1756 Captain Robert Miller of the *Lark*, a ship of six cannon and fifteen crew, also sailed in. As soon as he arrived, Miller, casting a canny eye on the armament of the Frenchman, hired carpenters and sailmakers to re-equip his vessel, supplying it with new portholes, gun covers and strengthened decks, while he purchased six more cannon. The Frenchman, seeing what he was at, followed suit, and soon to public concern it was noticed that both ships were equipping themselves as corsairs with every intention as soon as they were quit of Malta of fighting it out on the high seas. Miller had begun arming on 28 June, Jouvin on 6 July. On 17 July the government took action against such a flagrant breach in their regulations and set up a committee of four to investigate. It was discovered that Jouvin, forewarned of the impending attack on Port Mahon had been sent to Malta to arm as a privateer, but that he had delayed too long, being overtaken by the declaration of war. Miller it seemed had taken the advice of the British consul. Both captains were told to disarm and restore their ships to their original state.

The English consul, instructed to convey the order to Miller, refused outright. The Englishman was arming for his own defence against a more powerful vessel; to order him to disarm would be to deliver him into the hands of his enemy. He refused to interfere in the matter or to give any undertaking that Miller would not leave the harbour. At the same time he wrote—as he had threatened—to England, describing in strong terms the

¹ This safeguard had first been employed in the War of the Spanish Succession when Perellos forbade prizes to be sold in Malta which had been taken by French amateurs until the French Court of the Admiralty had declared them good. The indiscriminate raiding of neutral shipping had led to neutral prizes being bought in Malta.

² AOM, Arch. 271 Lib. Conc. Stat. 1756, July 28 *et seq.* The account of this incident is to be found in the minutes of the meetings of the Venerable Council of the Order.

prejudicial treatment being meted out to British ships in Malta, and giving as evidence of French malignity the information that the French chargé d'affaires, who was behind it all, was the Bali de Tencin, who had, while ambassador in Rome, been a principal agent in the Young Pretender's escape in 1745.¹

Meanwhile, Jouvin had consented to disarm, and was accordingly refunded his money on exchange of the weapons he had bought by the men who had supplied him. Since the Englishman proved recalcitrant, the government decided to impose sanctions. Miller was to be supplied with victuals only if he presented a chit signed by the Gran Visconte, the official in charge of all matters pertaining to the harbour. Miller refused to apply for it, and found himself denied water at the public fountain, and a quarter barrel of wine for which he had paid was not delivered. On 3 August the Gran Visconte demanded the rudder of the *Lark*, and on being rudely refused it, proceeded to dismantle it with the aid of a floating battering ram kept for this purpose. The operation took two hours, and in the course of it Miller ran up the Union Jack and went below, every now and then appearing on deck to jeer at the workmen. Once the rudder was off, Miller was told with all courtesy that he could go ashore, and he remembered his manners enough to touch his cap. The rudder was deposited in the arsenal.

Six days later Jouvin, having satisfied the authorities that he had stripped his ship to the original strength, was towed out of harbour to the unspeakable fury of Captain Miller, who sat down and wrote a strong letter to the Grand Master. In this he stoutly maintained that the Frenchman had only made a pretence at disarming, that after putting his purchases ashore by day, took them on board again by night; he was now waiting for Miller outside. He also revealed that the sanctions were beginning to tell; all his crew had deserted, except the mate and a sailor; he was met with suspicion in the market and had great difficulty in obtaining food. The Gran Visconte had allowed him the half barrel of wine, but that comfort had soon failed him. A few days later he was informed that he was a prisoner of war. What war? he asked bitterly; he was not aware that the Grand Master and the king of England were at war. The English commander in the Mediterranean would hear of this if he were not released soon. His own sailors had been inveigled away from him by a Father Spouch (Spucci?) who spoke English and had had them put aboard an Imperial vessel bound for Leghorn—a vessel if not of an enemy, at least of an unfriendly power. He

¹ P.R.O., S.P. 86/2. Dodsworth to Fox, 30 May 1756. He was, however, wrong: the Frenchman responsible was the Bali Hennin.

had been taken twice prisoner in the last war, but never been treated so badly before.¹

'I am told', he concludes, 'you suspect the British consul has written or composed these letters for me, but I do assure you that he has not seen them. I must thank God that notwithstanding the Government would have me to be a madman, I am capable of writing these and much more myself. The rigours of this government is enough to make all Englishmen mad and all Frenchmen to laugh,—as they are paid such compliments by distressing their enemies the English.'

Dodsworth may not have assisted Miller in writing his letters, but his influence is there. He had decided to make Miller's case a test one, whereby he hoped to prove to London the perfidy of the French, and so to acquire the much coveted patent that would put him beyond the power of the Grand Master and so safeguard his position. In October 1756 another English corsair, the famous Fortunatus Wright, sailed into Malta with two prizes. Wright had been to Malta before, during the previous war, and was well known to the French as one of the most successful privateers in the Mediterranean. With a ship of only two hundred tons he had already taken six merchantmen in three cruises, destroyed a French corsair, and now cruised with a price on his head, offered, 'contrary to all public honour', to anyone who should destroy or take him.² For this purpose two ships of twenty-two guns each were being specially prepared at Marseilles. This was a formidable ally and Dodsworth lost no time in seeing him. Miller's men it was decided should go aboard Wright's ship, and his powder too should be transferred—a contravention of the Order's regulations against armament, and more immediately a contravention of the laws of quarantine since all incoming ships not furnished with a valid *prattica* had to be isolated in case they carried bubonic infection; Dodsworth and Miller had gone aboard before the *Guardiano de Porto* had declared the ship to be in possession of this *prattica*. At the same time, on 17 October, at the barrier of the *Sanità*—the wharf off which all incoming ships anchored to be inspected by the health authorities—as Wright and Dodsworth were talking to the *Guardiano* four men rushed the barrier, fought their way through and leaped aboard Wright's launch, in which as if by a pre-arranged understanding they were taken aboard the Englishman. Wright refused to give the men up and Dodsworth said that if they were English—as he knew very well they were—he would not hand them over, and if they were not, he was not inclined to hand over men so obviously desperate. The next day

¹ AOM, Arch. 1780: *Fatti occasi tocanti la neutralita del Porto 1756-7.* Miller to Pinto, 8 Sept. 1756.

² P.R.O., S.P. 86/2. Wm. Hammond, *Wright's Amateur*, to Pitt, 10 Dec. 1756.

Miller himself came ashore, and being told that as a prisoner of war he was confined to his ship, he brandished a pistol in the face of the *Guardiano del Porto*, offering to blow out the brains of the man who attempted to stop him. The result of this braggadocio was that the bystanders proposed to throw him into the sea, and he was only saved by the intervention of the man he had just threatened.

Clearly the behaviour of the English, in arrogant defiance of all the regulations, required vigorous attention. Dodsworth's tendentious report to the Secretary of State had accused the Order of raising 'all th'obstacles their fertile invention can suggest...he may never be able to execute his design to the prejudice of the darling French by whose precise order this place is entirely governed'.¹

Dodsworth was, in fact, unjustified in his accusations. The Order, insisting in as dignified and consistent a manner as it could on maintaining her neutrality, had trouble with the French too, some of whom suspected that the Grand Master—a Portuguese—was favouring the English. He had been firm with Jouvin; he was also firm to another privateer, Captain Arnoux, who had reappeared in Grand Harbour a second time in a few weeks, and who was denied provisions in case he came to look on Malta as a convenient base for his privateering activities.² The Court of St James recognized the case for what it was, and in November 1756, Sir Henry Fox reprimanded Dodsworth for allowing Miller to arm: 'disputes of this nature may be very detrimental to H.M. service and may have disagreeable consequences for yourself'. Dodsworth refused to take the warning.³

Convinced, probably by now with some reason, that he was surrounded by implacable foes, his complaints came regularly into London; in one he mentioned a project mooted in the Grand Master's Sacred Council to massacre all the English and deprive him of his consulship.⁴ Certainly in Council Dodsworth was criticized for not exerting himself to prevent disorders; who has not heard those exasperated jests in committees? Then, denied his patent from London, he found an opportunity to back himself with a more vigorous agency than the dilatory court of St James. On 19 December 1756, H.M.S. *Jersey*, commanded by Captain William Burnaby, sailed into Grand Harbour.⁵ Again, in defiance of the quarantine regulations, Miller and Dodsworth went aboard and poured out their troubles to the captain. Burnaby, accordingly, wrote a strongly worded,

¹ *Ibid.* Dodsworth to Henry Fox, 8 Sept. 1756.

² AOM, Arch. 1780. *La Neutralità del Porto*, 28 Oct. 1756.

³ P.R.O., S.P. 86/2. Fox to Dodsworth, 8 Nov. 1756.

⁴ *Ibid.* Dodsworth to Fox, 25 Oct. 1756.

⁵ AOM, Arch. 271 Lib. Conc. Stat. 20 Dec. 1756.

Palmerstonian note to Grand Master Pinto, requesting that he release Miller at once, otherwise 'io sarei estremamente dispiaciuto di ritrovarmi indispensabilmente necessitato di trattare li stendardi dell'ordine in una differente maniera di quella fin adesso han esperimentato da Noi'. Among his complaints was to Burnaby the disquieting news that Dodsworth's letters had been interfered with; the truth was, as the Grand Master's investigating commissioners pointed out, that these letters had been found suspiciously hidden in a jar of tobacco going aboard Wright's ship, and on being opened were found to contain a long and inaccurate account of the business addressed to the British Commander in the Mediterranean, inviting him to insult the Maltese standard wherever he found it. But Burnaby's stay was short; he had to be content with a firm denial of his imputations and sail off. Miller, his bluff called and now reduced to penury, at last consented to disarm according to the Grand Master's instructions. After that he was permitted to leave, and with his capitulation, the immediate cause of conflict between the Consul and the government of Malta was removed. Throughout 1757 Dodsworth behaved circumspectly; though he does not mention it at the time, he was in financial trouble, and this was to grow so serious in the next few years that it was to break him.

During Miller's enforced stay in Malta, the two men, with a third captain, Braim, had entered into a private contract to buy a brigantine belonging to an Englishman which had limped into Malta after its crew had mutinied and left it in Crete.¹ The captain, Hodgson, unwilling to treat with Miller who was in trouble, at first refused, but was later bullied into a sale by the importunate and would-be privateer. He received 500 scudi from Miller who may have borrowed it from Dodsworth, who may have used funds deposited with him, in order to buy his share in the ship; but Hodgson, learning that it was to be converted into a privateer in a neutral port, took fright and confessed all to the Grand Master. Foiled in this particular, the consul and Miller lost their money and could not claim it back in open court since the transaction was illegal in the first place. This proved the second time that Dodsworth had failed to make his investment in the highly profitable business of the Corso, and he had lost money. If it taught him caution, it did not mean that he would neglect any opportunity to embarrass the Order, and if he fished dexterously when the waters were troubled by infringements of the island's neutrality, he might pull up the coveted patent or some quick financial profit at least. His temper, subdued for the time, was not pacified, and it could be shared by most English captains fighting a war in what might be called the Catholic lake. They were agents of a new power, aggressive and suspicious, and their

¹ AOM, Arch. 271 Lib. Conc. Stat. 23 Dec. 1756.

patience was liable to run short with what they considered the diplomatic humbug of Maltese neutrality.

Typical of this attitude was the action of Captain Hervey of H.M.S. *Centurion* who, in July 1758, with two other ships, chased a French corsair and her prize into Grand Harbour, firing so closely to the shore, regardless of warning shots from the shore-forts, that balls were found on the esplanade.¹ As soon as the prize, the *Tiger*, was safely in harbour, the French court through its ambassador requested that it should be fitted out as a war vessel, and actually sent two ships from Toulon with the necessary guns, powder and crew for it. This came to the ears of the British consul, and though the request was refused on the grounds that it would constitute an infringement of neutrality, he got word to Hervey that the *Tiger* was being fitted out as a corsair. This brought the English captain back to Malta, who wanted to know what was happening. The *Guardiano del Porto* explained that the *Tiger* was merely undergoing repairs and was in no way being armed, and in his turn he accused the Englishman of having encroached on Maltese waters in the first place. Hervey, backed by Dodsworth, with whom he had had a previous consultation, ignored the complaint and delivered his ultimatum. He would call back in fourteen days to see what was being done, and if in the meantime the *Tiger* left port, he would act upon his orders—which quite manifestly he had made up for himself—and fire on all Maltese ships he should meet. As for chasing the Frenchman into Maltese waters, he would do it again if necessary even under the very nose of St Elmo! Then, in a whirl of righteous indignation and defiance, Hervey sailed off; but he let Dodsworth down, for he did not return.

The consul's activities, in regard to this last incident, had roused the watchful attentions of the Grand Master's Council. Hervey's aggressive action had only put the Order on its guard, and on 21 July 1758 the Council formulated its rules that in future no more than four belligerent vessels would be allowed entry at any one time—a regulation to save themselves from any sudden action of mainprize should a whole flotilla have gained access to Grand Harbour.² It is ironical to think that this rule made to keep out the English, was only once enforced, and then against the French under Napoleon forty years later. At the same time it was laid down that ships of belligerent powers wishing to leave harbour could only do so at least twenty-four hours before or after an enemy vessel had sailed in or out. When Dodsworth tried to send out an English trader immediately after three French corsairs to warn Captain Stanhope at Messina, the ship was refused a pass.³ Since the Consul's every action seemed to be aimed at

¹ *Ibid.* 21 July 1758.

² *Ibid.* 26 Aug. 1758.

³ P.R.O., S.P. 86/2. Dodsworth to Pitt, 26 Oct. 1758.

causing some embarrassment to the Order a watch was put on him, and he found himself requested to explain why he wanted to leave the city each time he approached the gates, so that he wrote bitterly that the Grand Master had decreed 'no Turks, Jews, slaves, forzati or bunonavoglie or British consuls should be allowed to pass through'.¹

For the next four years he managed to avoid trouble, but when he clashed again with the magisterial authorities, it was to be disastrously.

The withdrawal of the English from the war in 1762 deprived many English corsairs of the lawful gains of a privateering war; some of them therefore immediately applied for patents from the king of Prussia through his consul at Naples. Dodsworth, in the absence of a Prussian consul, put his services at their disposal, and received into his protection and lodged in his warehouse various effects which had been taken from the latest Prussian prizes.² Among these were goods taken by one Captain James Merryfield off a Tuscan pink; later on a valid claim for restitution was filed with the Prussian authorities on the grounds that the goods belonged to Turks, with whom Prussia was not at war. The Prussian consul at Naples was instructed to see that they were restored, but either because Merryfield had sold them already or because he hoped to sell them later for his own profit, he refused to render an account of them and got Dodsworth to back him. The English consul refused to surrender the keys of his warehouse. This was a flagrant defiance of the legitimate authority of the Grand Master, especially as the king of Prussia himself 'ricercò l'autorita della giustizia del Paese accioché forse quello (Merryfield) costretto alla intiera restituzione di detti effetti, e affinché fossero questi posti sotto la più sicura custodia di un pubblico magistrato'. The English warehouse enjoyed no immunity from Grand Magisterial inspection. The authorities debated what to do, they contemplated a forcible entry to seize both the keys and Dodsworth's papers; and to avoid this, Dodsworth took a calculated risk. He defied once more a ruling about which he knew the Grand Master was most particular and erected over his door the royal arms of England and claimed the protection of the British crown.

This was the sort of thing the Grand Masters had so long feared and so strenuously sought to avoid: the existence of the protected agent of a Protestant, alien power, preserved from the normal processes of a law in an age of privateering, where the position of neutrals demanded the exactest impartiality, a position aggravated in this case by the character of the man who filled it, ambitious, quarrelsome and unreliable. It would be tantamount to harbouring a permanent agent provocateur always ready to

¹ P.R.O., S.P. 86/2. Dodsworth to Pitt, 13 Nov. 1758.

² AOM, Arch. 271 Lib. Conc. Stat. 5 May 1762.

make political and financial capital out of the difficulties experienced in governing a mixed and cosmopolitan society. The Order took immediate action. The Venerable Council recognized the action for what it was, and knew Dodsworth to be in acute financial difficulties—hoping perhaps with Merryfield's prizes to extricate himself. They decided on 5 May 1762 that since the consul '*per sistema sempre oppone le stravaganze alla ragione*', he should be suspended, and another Englishman found to take his place. At the same time, a knight should be sent to London to complain to the British government. In view of hostile demonstrations against his person and his house—which Dodsworth claimed with complete reason to have been fomented by the French and carried out by the young knights in the island—a guard was set on his house. The knight deputed to go to London, Fra Valperga di Masino, a Piedmontese and a subject of the King of Sardinia, prepared to make his journey.

Masino's orders were clear.¹ He was to proceed via Naples and Turin to pick up letters from the Neapolitan and Sardinian courts in his favour, the knights never embarking on a diplomatic venture without excellent support. In Paris he was to ask the Dutch and Danish ambassadors to supply him with a testimony to the good treatment the ships of those nations had always received in Malta; after that he was to proceed to London and lay before Lord Egremont, the Secretary of State, the whole grievance. On 23 July 1762 Frederick the Great himself wrote that he had instructed his minister in London to see that 'M Dodsworth soit mis à la raison'.² Late in that year Masino arrived in London, but his business had to wait owing to the preoccupation of the British government with the peace negotiations. The Grand Master, emboldened to believe that the British king would not ignore his complaint in view of Frederick's support, at last arrested Dodsworth on 3 February 1763, 'seizing on my person', wrote the unhappy man, 'without even permitting me to put a shoe on, or a hat or wig on my head, in the convalescent condition I was, lately recovered of a fit of sickness, in my night gown dragged me out of my house shutting my wife and daughters in a convent for penitent harlots'.³ His papers were seized and the arms of His Britannic Majesty taken down and carried reverentially covered with a white cloth to the Grand Master's palace. 'Such', say the minutes of the Venerable Council laconically, 'are the measures we have

¹ *Ibid.* 31 May 1762.

² *Ibid.* Entered in Lib. Conc. Stat. 27 Oct. 1762.

³ P.R.O., S.P. 86/2. Dodsworth to Egremont, 3 Jan. 1763. The Maddalena was it is true a convent for penitent prostitutes. A number of such convents had been founded in the early seventeenth century, but by the middle of the eighteenth century it is probable that there were few actual penitents among its members. Certainly Mrs Dodsworth was quite comfortable there, as Captain Harrison reported, and she expressed no desire to join her husband in St Elmo.

taken to see that Justice may take its course in the matter of his debts, while it remains for Your Eminence to determine the fate of this malefactor, his vassal.'¹

The course of justice was not, however, to be an easy one. On 7 January 1763, a letter from George II to Pinto declared that the consul could be considered the Grand Master's subject and that he could be brought to justice in the magisterial courts, but letters from Dodsworth and his son Hannibal, an officer in the Royal Navy, complaining of his treatment, caused the Secretary of State to call for an on-the-spot investigation. Accordingly, he issued instructions to Captain Hervey, Dodsworth's old acquaintance, to proceed to Malta and to inform the Grand Master that the British Government would take no further notice 'of the Grand Master's hasty and irregular proceedings against a person who has so long had the honour of being employed by H.M., provided that he is immediately set at liberty and reparation made for damages'. The consul remains discharged however, and Egremont declares that he has no intention of protecting him from his creditors.²

Dodsworth's complaints increased as the year wore on, complaints which were aimed at causing the maximum indignation in Whitehall. He was allowed only two scudi (about 4s. 3d. then) a day to keep his whole family and a slave. His children (two sons were with him) had been denied water during a fever; antelopes belonging to the French chargé d'affaires, Tencin, had been put in rooms adjacent to his as an implied insult and his dogs had been forbidden to run about in case they disturbed them. But Dodsworth's frenzied list of grievances could not disguise the fact that it was a strange persecution that allowed him a slave, his dogs and, it turned out, three rooms with an excellent view in the castle usually reserved for prisoners of noble extraction, with the whole length of the bastion wall for exercise.³ In fact as soon as Captain Harrison arrived (Hervey was unable to execute the commission) he reported that the conditions were very different from those that Dodsworth had described.⁴ He found the consul in a state of obstinate refusal to accept the competence of his judges, claiming that as a British official he deserved protection from his malicious enemies. The state of his finance was appalling. His debts were far in excess of his means and his creditors numbered Englishmen, Prussians, Maltese and Swedes. That he could in no way meet them suggested to the Grand Master that he had carefully got most of his money abroad, and it was the Order's

¹ A.O.M., Arch. 271 Lib. Conc. Stat. 9 Feb. 1763.

² P.R.O., S.P. 86/2. Egremont to Hervey, 2 Aug. 1763.

³ *Ibid.* Dodsworth to Egremont, 14 Oct., 5 Nov. 1763, 3 Jan. 1764.

⁴ *Ibid.* Harrison to Halifax, 10 Feb. 1764.

intention to see that he paid up. The twelve thousand piastras he owed the Prussians for loss or disposal of goods that had to be restored, for which he had originally been imprisoned, was the most important debt. Pinto feared that Frederick II, dissatisfied with justice in Malta, might sequester the Order's possessions in Prussian territory. He owed another twenty-seven thousand scudi to an English merchant for prize effects he had sold without transferring the money; it was the largest among many. Perhaps some of his creditors claimed more than he owed, but every claim speaks for a dereliction of his consular duties: goods damaged, perished or lost under his care, money borrowed and not repaid, private sales of goods deposited with him for which no account had been rendered, malfeasance of the most serious kinds.¹

Since he was unable to meet his obligations, he had decided to stall to such an extent that he hoped either the case would be dropped or he would be able to bluster his way out of it. But Harrison disappointed him. He was told the king would protect his person, but would not absolve him from the necessity of paying his debts. The Grand Master informed the English captain that the case could become a criminal one unless Dodsworth allowed a procurator to present his case—but if he paid his debts he would be a free man.² The Order had no quarrel with the ex-consul. It was not, however, until July 1765 that Dodsworth at last prepared his case, worn down by fatigue, penury, the desertion of his wife and a little applied starvation.³ He had been two and a half years in prison and his finances had improved in no way; he was in no position to pay. His bluff called, he was a broken man; the fiery Dodsworth of the lowering eye, quick temper and masterful ambition was released from St Elmo on 12 June 1767 after five years' imprisonment, by order of the king of Prussia.⁴ The debt to Prussia was never paid, and never likely to be; the Prussian ambassador in Constantinople had to pay out 15,000 dollars reimbursement to the plaintiff merchants. Merryfield, too, was released, and Dodsworth with four of his children left for Alicant on an English trader. The last act of generosity on the part of the Order he had so much maligned was to give him £35 to help in his travelling expenses. The man who had caused them so much trouble had a last call on their pity. The knights were nothing if not magnanimous.

The duties of consul had devolved upon Angel Rutter on 9 May 1763.⁵

¹ *Ibid.* A list of Dodsworth's debts.

² AOM, Arch. 271 Lib. Conc. Stat. Memoir submitted by the Ven. Council to Captain Harrison, 23 Feb. 1764.

³ AOM, Arch. 272 Lib. Conc. Stat. 1 July 1765.

⁴ P.R.O., S.P. 86/2. Rutter to Lord Shelburne, 12 June 1767.

⁵ *Ibid.* Rutter to Egremont, 9 May 1763.

His father, a Londoner, had been a consul before, many years before, and the English in Malta, said Pinto, reposed complete confidence in him. The episode of Dodsworth was allowed to be forgotten, though the echoes may have lingered on in tales told to put up the anti-French hacles of visiting English traders. For a few months he had succeeded in spotlighting himself and creating an international crisis on a minor scale: when he put up the King's arms on his door—he had had them ready since 1757 for such an eventuality¹—he put the affair on to the plane of diplomacy. The young knights who met in a neighbouring house and plotted to shoot them down at night with an enfilade of musketry were escorted to their various lodgings as soon as the plot was betrayed to the Grand Master, and a guard was set on the consul's house, night and day, until his arrest.² Even when he was arrested, the guards were out in double strength to prevent any disorders, or any insult to the arms of His Britannic Majesty; the event was orderly enough, and the only voice raised was that of Dodsworth's wife, cursing the symbol of all that had brought so much trouble to her and her family.³ The Order had no desire to aggravate the English and their whole interest was to avoid an incident. Although one of the bailiffs, the dignitaries of the Council, submitted that, should the English act in a hostile manner towards the Order, the Maltese galleys and corsairs could inflict appalling damage on English merchantmen, such bravado was not the sentiment of the Grand Master.⁴ When French and English sailors brawled in the streets of Valetta, they were summarily arrested and imprisoned without fear or favour.⁵ The behaviour of the knights was correct; and because it was so correct the braggadocio of Dodsworth, who wanted to call in the English to reduce what he considered the disproportionate French influence on the island, failed to arouse more than a faint interest in London. He saw, however, what the English authorities were not to see until a power inimical to English interests actually occupied the island: that the English could not afford to neglect any part of the Mediterranean where the French had lively influence. The arrangement which the English had was really too vague for their own interests, and in 1786 Grand Master de Rohan requested London to make it more direct by sanctioning the appointment of a new consul.⁶

¹ AOM, Arch. 271 Lib. Conc. Stat. 9 May 1757. The Council sent a note to Dodsworth asking him bluntly what he intended to do with the English arms which he had been openly painting in his house. Dodsworth ignored the request.

² Royal Library of Malta, MS. 13, fol. 791, 4 May 1762. Diary of Mifsud.

³ R. Lib. of Malta, MS. 14, fol. 12, 3 Feb. 1763.

⁴ AOM, Arch. 1780. Memoir presented to G.M. undated, probably late 1756 after Burnaby's visit.

⁵ R. Lib. of Malta, MS. 12, fol. 533, 15 Aug. 1756.

⁶ P.R.O., London. F.O. 49/2 Correspondence of Consul England.

Yet so lackadaisical was England's attitude to him that de Rohan did not receive a reply for months, and when in 1793 war broke out between the British and French, the consul was to learn it first from the French. The interest of Dodsworth's case is perhaps greatest when we learn from it how little the English considered Malta in the eighteenth century, and how little accordingly they deserved to become her master.

RECORDS

A LIST OF THE ROYAL NAVY IN 1590-1591

Contributed by R. C. Anderson

A list of Ships' Names, being the Royal Navy in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1565

Ships' names (1565)	Length by the keel (ft.)	Breadth by the beam (ft.)	Depth in the hold (ft.)	Rake of the stem (ft.)	Rake of the post (ft.)	Burthen in tons (no.)
Elizabeth	100	38	18	36	6	684
Triumph	100	39	19	37	6	741
Bear	108	37-6	18	36	6-6	712 [729]
Merhounour	110	38	17-18	37	6-6	692
Victory	95	35	17	32	5-10	565
Ark [Royal]	100	36	15	33-6	6	540
Garland	95	34	16	32	5-8	516
Revenge	92	32	16	31	5-6	471
Defiance	92	32	16	31	5-6	471
Mary Rose	82	33	17	30-6	5	460
Vanguard	108	32	13	32	5-8	440 [449]
Lion	94	32	14	31-6	5-7	421
Bonaventure	80	35	16	28	4-10	448
Hope	94	33	13	31-6	5-7	433 [403]
Rainbow	100	32	12	33-6	6	400 [384]
Dreadnought	90	30	15	31	5-4	304 [405]
Nonpareil ¹	85	28	16	29	5	300 [380]
Antelope	87	28	14	29-6	5-2	341
Swallow	88	27	14	30-6	5-3	308 [332]
Foresight	78	27	14	27	4-8	294
Aid	73	25	14	25	4-5	224 [255]
Swiftsure	74	28	14	26	4-6	290 [288]
Bull	80	22	11	28	4-2	193
Quittance	66	26	12	24	4	206
Answer	66	26	12	24	4	206
Crane	62	25	13	23	3-10	201
Advantage	60	24	10	22	3-10	144
Tiger	50	23	13	21	3-6	149
Scout	60	20	11	19	3-10	144 [132]
Tremontana ²	60	23	10	21	3-4	138
Achates ³	58	18	10	17	3-4	99 [104]
Charles	63	16	8	15	3	70 [80]
Advice	50	14	7	12	2-6	49
Spy	50	14	7	12	2-6	49
Makeshift	50	14	7	12	2-6	49
Moon	50	17	8	15	2-8	68
Sun	50	13	7	11	2-2	45
Cygnet ⁴	40	12	6	10	2	28

¹ MS. Nonparallel.³ MS. Cattes.² MS. Tirmanthony.⁴ MS. Sinnett.

The above list is taken from a volume of eighteenth-century transcripts in the Admiralty library, the same volume as contains the early seventeenth-century treatise on shipbuilding beginning: 'A ship is a concave body'. It bears the date 1565, but this is demonstrably wrong,

since it includes ships built in 1590. On the other hand, it also includes the *Revenge*, which was lost in 1591, so that it can be dated with confidence 1590-1.

In form it repeats exactly the first seven of the twenty-two columns in the list of 1602 printed in Oppenheim's *Administration of the Royal Navy*, p. 124, but the figures given frequently differ slightly. Probably the copyist found Elizabethan handwriting difficult to read; this is suggested very strongly by the remarkable spelling of *Nonpareil*, *Tremontana*, *Achates* and *Cyнет*. The same difficulty may account for some of the cases where the tonnage does not agree with the dimensions. Where only one figure is wrong, as in the case of the *Hope* or the *Vanguard*, this may be the explanation, but greater variations must be due either to errors in the dimensions as given or to inability to work out very simple multiplication. If the former, the fault may lie with the transcriber, but bad arithmetic was probably the work of the original compiler.

Occasionally a comparison with the later list will show where the mistake lies. For instance, the *Charles* in that list has a depth of 7 ft. instead of 8 ft. and adopting this figure gives the 70 tons required. Similarly, the substitution of 12 for 11 as the *Scout*'s depth will make her tonnage right; but in this case we have no later authority to justify the change.

Tonnages in square brackets are those resulting from correct multiplication of the dimensions given. Where these have not been added, the figures of the list are correct. Measurements are given in feet and inches instead of the fractions of a foot used in the manuscript and names are printed in normal modern spelling. Otherwise the list is given as it stands.

It will be seen that we now have dimensions for several ships not included in the list of 1602. Unfortunately the identical figures for the *Revenge* and *Defiance* are a little suspicious and so are those for the *Quittance* and *Answer* and for the *Advice*, *Spy* and *Makeshift*. Even towards the end of the eighteenth century, when ships were built in classes, we seldom find any two precisely the same in their dimensions. The figures for the *Bull*, with almost 3½ beams to the keel, are particularly interesting, because she was a 'rebuild' of 1570 from one of Henry VIII's 'galleasses' and it looks very much as if she had retained her original proportions.

JOHN WILKINSON AND THE GLORIOUS FIRST OF JUNE

Contributed by Grant Uden

A miscellaneous bundle of papers recently reached the archivist for the county of Nottinghamshire, from a family long established in the neighbourhood of Kirkby-in-Ashfield and for several generations tenant-farmers of the Dukes of Portland. At first sight they were just such a collection as might accumulate round any similar family—concerned with leases, shooting rights, horse-stealing, all the familiar matters of day-to-day life in the country; important to the local historian, but not often shedding direct light on the wider scene of national affairs.

There was one remarkable exception, of peculiar interest to the student of naval history. One member of the family, John Clark, had at one time employed a lad named John Wilkinson. Why he left the farm we do not know; whether he was pressed or yielded to the blandishments of a recruiting officer is equally obscure; but he emerges, in 1794, as steward to the wardroom on board H.M.S. *Queen* of 98 guns. More important, he was present on the Glorious First of June and, a month afterwards, recovered from his wounds, took pen in hand and wrote a vivid account of the battle to his old master at Kirkby Woodhouse. His spelling was idiosyncratic, but the handwriting was fluent enough and at times the style was almost literary. The letter is transcribed below, without alteration:

Spithead 2 July 1794

Honourable Sir,

I make bold to write theas few lins to You hopeing they will Fiend you and your farther, Brothers and Sisters all well as that leave me Rather Better thanks be to god for it—now Sir to leet you know that I belong to H.M. Ship the Queen of 98 guns as Steward to the Whard Roomes and to leet you know Sir that I have bene to the west indies in this ship and to leet you know that i was in the action of the 29 and the first of June against the French fleet Consisting of 29 sail of the line and wead but 26 sail of the line and on the 29 in the morning a bought eight o clock wes came to action and we ingaged for Five howers successfull as hard as we Cild fire till at last the french Run from us then we turned two and prapard hower Rigan and masts then on the First of June we Came to action a gaine a bought eight o clock in the morning and it lasted till two the same day and to leet you know that hower ship ad to run the gantlet twice throw the french lins and we ad no les than three ships upon us at one time but by the help of God we made thiem strike to us and in the time of action we sunk two of the French Ships one of 80 guns one of 74 guns and a bought one thousand men sunk with the Ships and in one Ship that we tooke we Cild Right houte five hundred men ded and in hower Ship we ad one hundred and thirtey eight Cild and wounded and to leet you know that at the gun that i was Quartred at wead 4 Shot Come in and Cild two men and wounded five do. witch I was wounded in my left harm and in my breast but thanks be to god im a grate deal better and to let you know that hower Captn lost is leg and since dead and the marster of the ship he was Cild Right hout in the time of action and to leet you know that on the 28 of June sume of hower Ships in gaged a bought eight oclock at night but the Rest of hower fleet cud not come to action as the french fleet was to windward of us but we lay upon the Decks at hower guns all night for two nights and three days as the french fleet Still Ceep in sight and to leet you know that before the action we tooke 18 ships that the french ad taken from us and we sunk thieam all and one french brig of 14 guns we Captred and a Ship of 22 guns and a Cutter of 14 guns and we took all the french prisoners houte and then sunk thieam all but to leet you know that we have brought 6 Sail of the french line of Battle Ships into portsmouth harbour whear the kind and Queen as bine to see thieam and lyke wise to see hower Shatterd Ships. Sir in the time of action you would of thort the Ellement ad bene all on fire and the Shot flying a bought hower Eds 42 pr. and Case Shot and dubbel eded Shot it was all the same as a hale Storme a bought the Ship but to leet you know that we are all ready for seea a gaine and I believe that we shall go in 6 or Eight days time from heare and to leet you know that admoral Cardner is hower Commander and i have bene this three years at seea and as but ad my foot on shore 5 times pleas to be so good as to give my best respects to Salley Barrows and to Mr. Mills if a live as he is Sume Releation of mine I ad liked to of forgot im but i hope you will not forget to speake of me and to leet thieam know whear I am but I hope this whar will not be long and then I meane to Cum down to See you plas God to Settel at home witch I make no doupt but what you wood be glad to see your old Servant once more all tho it is so long Since that I lived with you as a boy you may of forgoot me but I lived with you when Mearey Meas Seaman was your hous Ceepers.

So I am your Most obt. and Homble sert.

Jno Wilkinson ¹

P.S.

Jno. Wilkinson on board

H.M. ship the Queen of 98 guns

SpitHead portsmouth.

Letters of this sort from the lower deck are of great rarity, and it would be pleasant to chronicle further the exploits of John Wilkinson. Presumably, assiduous search at

¹ The transcription of this letter is published by kind permission of the Clerk to the County Council, Nottinghamshire.

the Public Record Office and among other naval records would tell us whether, in fact, he survived the war, unfortunately much longer drawn-out than he hoped; but it is unlikely that the most human chapter of the sequel—the home-coming of the hero to Kirkby Woodhouse, Farmer Clark, Sally Barrows and all—will ever be authoritatively written.

NOTES

A DISCOVERY NEAR STOCKHOLM

On 10 August 1628 the *Wasa*, a newly built Swedish man-of-war of some 60 guns, was just leaving Stockholm, when she was struck by a sudden squall and sunk by the inrush of water through the lower-deck ports. This much was well known, but it was not until the summer of 1956 that the ship was actually located by a private investigator, Mr Anders Franzén, less than a mile from the main quays of the city, in one of the narrowest parts of the channel and almost opposite the entrance of the principal dry-dock. To make things still more remarkable, she was lying upright in 100 ft. of water with 64 ft. of her mainmast still standing.

The hull appears to be very little damaged and the prospects of salvage extremely promising, so much so that it is hoped that the ship will be able to float on her own bottom, when once she has been raised. By now this may have been done. In any case we must be very near something almost as important as the unearthing of the much earlier vessels of Gokstad and Oseberg.

R. C. ANDERSON

CAPTAIN LARKINS AND THE *PIÉMONTAISE*

I am grateful to Mr de Courcy Ireland for drawing attention to the new light thrown on the closing scenes of the *Warren Hastings-Piémontaise* action by the publication of Admiral Baudin's memoirs in *Neptunia*. In fairness to the French, and to the memory of her distinguished sailor, it is only right that I should record certain incidents in Captain Larkins's subsequent career which show that his character was not wholly estimable, and that there may have been good grounds for Baudin's antipathy for the man whose life he had saved.

Early in 1816 Larkins was reported by the Committee of Private Trade for having 'evinced a neglect and disobedience highly censorable, and deserving the Court's severest displeasure'. I have been unable to discover what this offence was, but it was obviously very serious. 'After considering... the destitute state of his family, and his former meritorious services to the Company' the Court reduced the Committee's sentence to 'a mulct of £1,000'. (Court Minutes, 12, 17 and 19 January 1816.)

Two years later he was reported to the Court for having six guns unmounted in the *Warren Hastings* (III), presumably to make room for private trade goods. But on the same voyage he got into trouble for shamefully inhuman conduct. He had confined his third mate to his cabin (normally a space measuring only about 6 by 7 ft., partitioned off with canvas on the gun deck) for no less than five months, the only extenuating circumstance being his being allowed 'to walk the weather waist two hours daily'. At the subsequent enquiry Larkins was unable to prove the charges for which he had so severely punished the unfortunate third mate. (*Marine Miscellaneous*, Vol. 33, pp. 206, 260, 307, 328, 354.)

Nevertheless, on an earlier voyage of the same ship when she was carrying troops, their commanding officer was so brutal to his men that Larkins had to interfere, protesting 'that he would not have his quarter-deck converted into a slaughterhouse, nor the ladies on board disgusted with the sight of the naked back of a poor screaming soldier, every time they came on deck' (John Shipp, *Memoirs*).

It may be that Larkins did not behave altogether honourably when he lost his ship, but on no grounds can Moreau be excused for having wounded a commander who had just surrendered to him. That it was done 'dans la vivacité de ses gestes' only lends colour to the alleged lack of discipline in French ships at the time. But I agree with Mr de Courcy Ireland that, as the Larkins records show, discipline in British ships was not always what it might have been. E. W. BOVILL

CAPTAIN WATKIN TENCH, R.M.

I am engaged on behalf of the Royal Australian Historical Society on an edition, which we hope will be definitive, of the two books by Captain Watkin Tench, R.M., on the first settlement at Sydney, N.S.W.

While Tench's Australian years are fully documented, there is very little known material on his earlier and later career. I am especially anxious for any information on his family and education.

I shall be in England until late November, and I should be most grateful if anyone knowing of unpublished material on Tench would communicate with me, c/o Commercial Banking Co. of Sydney Ltd., 27-32 Old Jewry, E.C. 2, or with the National Library Liaison Officer, Australia House, Strand, W.C. 1.

L. F. FITZHARDINGE

DOLPHIN STRIKERS

In the current issue of *Mariner's Mirror*, I notice Mr H. I. Chapelle states that he is sure he is wrong in adding dolphin strikers to his reconstructions of the sail plans of some of the American frigates of the Revolutionary War Period, and adds that there is no evidence, pictorial or textual, to support the assumption that the dolphin striker was in use this early.

However, the model of the American privateer brig *Fair American*, which dates from Revolutionary War times, does have a small dolphin striker: the model I refer to, of course, is the one now in the Rogers Collection at Annapolis, Maryland. This evidence, I suppose, is open to question on two counts: when was the model actually built, at the time of her capture by the British, or perhaps was it commissioned by either Barney or Stephen Decatur senior at some late time; is the dolphin striker an anachronism that was added at the time of some later restoration?

In the course of building a model of this ship I have noticed one or two odd things about it: there is only 3 ft. 6 in. headroom under the quarter-deck, which seems much too little even for those days of cramped quarters; and with the wheel where it is—and wheels were rare enough on vessels of this size at this time—it is hard to see how the tiller could have been bent down and brought forward under the floor of the great cabin to where the wheel ropes could act properly. If the floor of the great cabin was lower than the level of the spar deck to give at least 5 ft. headroom under the quarterdeck beams, then it would have been impossible to put a tiller under it at all, given the point where the rudder head enters the counter.

These considerations have led me to suspect that the model was built by a good model maker but one who was not working from any plan of the ship, and was unfamiliar with her actual internal arrangements. My guess is that he worked from the painting of Barney's action with the *General Monk*, and not the contrary, as has been assumed. Barney was in Europe in the 1790's while serving in the French Navy; he could have had the model built there; and then for some reason never brought it back to America. But this is mere speculation.

I am sure that Mr Chapelle is well acquainted with the model at Annapolis, and at the time of writing his note, it had merely escaped his memory that she does have a dolphin striker. I hope it may be of interest to him to have the fact recalled to his mind.

The brilliant miniaturist, Donald McNarry, put a dolphin striker on his model of the American Revolutionary War brig, *Lexington*, which I thought was open to question. But since, as far as I know, no actual plan of this ship has ever been discovered, his model cannot be accepted as evidence. But it would be interesting to know on what basis he decided that his model ought to have one.

JAMES FERGUSON

GOING ABOUT IN LATEEN-RIGGED CRAFT

With reference to No. 13 of *Queries* in your May number the following details may be of interest. The ability to go about with a lateen sail depends to a large extent on the cut of the sail, which varies considerably, and the method of suspension of the yard. The small lateen-rigged feluccas of Alexandria, whose sail has a more or less vertical leach and a short vertical luff, frequently turn to windward and when making short tacks the sail is allowed to remain to windward of the mast on alternate tacks. This of course sacrifices some of its efficiency, and if the tacks are of any length, the clew is passed round before the mast in the normal manner and the yard rolls over the top of the masthead.

The ghaissas of the Nile have a variety of rigs, and there is a single-masted type where the sail, which is strictly triangular and has no luff, is cut high and narrow with a vertical leach, and with a low foot with little or no roach. In these vessels the yard is slung abaft the mast, and when on a wind the heel of the yard is bowed in to the mast so that the sail is in effect a gunter, and sets equally well on either tack. These vessels are mainly used between bridges in the Cairo area, and the mast which is raked slightly aft is stepped in a tabernacle, and is designed to lower so that the ghaissa can shoot the bridges. The larger two-masted ghaissas have the main sail cut much more closely according to the traditional lateen style as seen in the Red Sea. The foot is short and is deeply roached. There is a short luff, and the mast is raked forward and is not designed to lower without being unstepped. Whilst I have seen these sails set to windward of the mast this is a temporary measure for a very short leg, and normally these craft avoid short tacking to windward. For bridge work the mast is unstepped by rigging a small sheer legs from which the mast is lifted and lowered. In this state they are often towed by the single-masted vessels with the lowering mast.

Certain harbour craft can be seen in Alexandria with the lateen virtually converted to a balanced lug, with a light boom. These work easily to windward. I am preparing a more detailed study of some of these vessels with photographs and drawings.

P. J. NORTON

THE SHIP *LINTIN*

As the information so far given about the ship *Lintin* seems to have come from shipping registers the following account of one of her voyages should be of interest. It comes from the *Durham Advertiser*, March 1835.

'The quickest passage ever made to Liverpool has lately been accomplished by the ship *Lintin* of 500 tons register built by Mr W. Cornforth, jnr; of Sunderland for Mr T. C. Gibson of Newcastle which sailed from the latter port on her first voyage in July last. This vessel's log has been published in the Liverpool papers as an unprecedented instance of fast sailing. For 24 hours hours she averaged upwards of 11 miles per hour having on board a full cargo. The whole passage of 3859 miles was performed in 21 days.'

The original query referred to a coloured print. Perhaps the above-mentioned record was the inspiration for the print?

P. BARTON

ADMIRALTY MANUAL OF SEAMANSHIP

I have just received a copy of Vol. I of the latest *Admiralty Manual of Seamanship*, reprinted 1957, and incorporating Amendments Nos. 1 to 4, and other minor revisions, H.M.S.O., 10s. 6d. net.

This volume is for the use of naval cadets and seamen boys. Vols. II and III are for more advanced students.

I suppose this book does contain, all, or most of the information required by boys in the Shore Training Establishments: but I must confess to a slight feeling of disappointment when I came to chapter II and the section dealing with sailing ships: This part of the book might indeed have been better left out.

On page 37 there appears a drawing of the foremast rigging of a square-rigged sailing vessel.

I fear the artist had never seen one. Fidded on to the topgallant-masthead is a spar quite unknown to me, described as the royal mast.

I do not know if any such spar ever existed, but certainly it was not in my time. In every ship I have seen or heard of, the topgallant and royal mast are all one spar, though that part of the topgallant mast above the jack was sometimes referred to as the royal mast.

When speaking of the crosstrees one generally referred to the topmast crosstrees, not those under the top.

On page 38 is a picture—not a very good one—of the brig *Martin*. Here the head sails are described as the inner jib and the outer jib, names unknown to the Royal Navy. The head-sails of all naval ships were fore topmast staysail, jib and flying jib.

The artist did not know the name of the boom mainsail so called it the spaaker or driver, a sail which of course does not exist in a brig.

The ship herself is described as a '41 gun brig'. Some brig indeed. The *Martin* was in fact pierced for 10 guns; but if my memory serves me, actually carried 6 guns of very small calibre. A 41-gun ship would have been a large ship-rigged frigate. And by the way, was the *Martin* in commission as late as 1905?

In the chapter on rope work, bends and hitches, etc., there is a drawing of a rope grommet, but if one wants to know how to make it one must buy Vol. II of the *Manual*.

On the whole I think the old *Admiralty Manual for Boys' Training Ships* of my youth, priced at eighteenpence, was far better value for the money.

A. MACDERMOTT.

HAS AN ANCHOR OF H.M.S. *BOUNTY* BEEN FOUND?

On 12 February 1957 the *Sydney Morning Herald* newspaper reported that the anchor of H.M.S. *Bounty* had been recovered from the sea-bed off Pitcairn Island. The material portion of this report was a telegram sent by the Seventh Day Adventist Pastor at the island saying 'Bounty's Anchor and seven feet of chain recovered. Captain Johnson of Brigantine *Yankee* directed salvage'. Upon reading this report I wrote to the editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald* that as the anchor had seven feet of chain attached to it I considered it was most improbable that the anchor had belonged to the *Bounty*. This letter was published and initiated a controversy of which it is unnecessary to give details.

As the result of this controversy, however, a detailed description of the anchor was furnished by the Pitcairn Island Pastor. This description gives the dimensions of the anchor as follows. Shank: 11 ft. 7 in. from ring to crown with a circumference of 1 ft. 7 in. The distance between the bills is 8 ft. and the breadth of the palms is 1 ft. 7 in. The diameter of the ring is 1 ft. 10 in. These dimensions do not differ greatly from those of a 14 cwt. anchor in the table of dimensions of anchors made in H.M. Dockyards set out in the 1830 edition of *Falconer's Dictionary*. According to Mr C. Knight's article 'H.M. Armed Vessel *Bounty* (M.M. Vol. xxii, p. 187) the two heaviest anchors carried by the *Bounty* were each a little less than 14 cwt. A large broad arrow is on the shank about 1 ft. from the ring. The anchor had a wooden stock which broke off whilst the anchor was being raised to the surface. Part of the canvas parcelling of the ring was still in position and is reported to be 'in very good order and quite strong'.

From the additional particulars given it is clear that the chain attached to the ring of the anchor is not part of a chain cable, it being described as 'about eleven feet of light chain'. The presence of this chain poses the question of its use. A possible answer is that it was used as a stopper when the anchor was carried on the bow but if used for that purpose one would expect it to be passed through but not to be attached to the ring of the anchor.

From the description of the anchor and the clarification of the original statement about the attached chain, it appears that the claim that the anchor belonged to the *Bounty* is well-founded.

ALLAN E. BAX.

The Times reported on 12 February 1957 that an anchor with 7 ft. of chain had been found off Pitcairn Island and that it was thought to have belonged to H.M.S. *Bounty*.

On 15 February a letter of mine appeared pointing out that since chain cables were not adopted by the R.N. till 1811 it was improbable that the anchor was the *Bounty*'s.

On 22 April Mr Edward C. Parker, jun., commanding the brigantine *Yankee* at Suva Fiji, wrote that the chain was small and not a cable and that some puddening remained on the 'ring bolt' which was evidently made for a hemp cable. *The Times* printed a proof of a letter from me to this effect but lack of space prevented its publication.

Mr Parker gave the following measurements:

Shank (from tip to tip) 11' 11"; diameter at the bolt 18½" ($5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ square); diameter at the flukes 23". Ring bolt: 23" across (outside diameter); diameter of bolt metal: 7" to 9".

Flukes: Tip to tip straight across 84½"; tip to shank (outside) 56" and 57" (two flukes); tip to shank (inside) 44" and 45"; diameter (median) of fluke 20"; Blades 19½" \times 26" and 21" \times 28".

By 'ring bolt' Mr Parker evidently means ring and therefore 'diameter' of bolt metal may be a slip for 'circumference'.

According to a table in Steel's *Seamanship* of 1790 an anchor with a shank of 12 ft. had a ring of 21 in. in outside diameter and the thickness of the ring was 2½ in.

The arms of such an anchor were 4 ft. long, the length apparently taken from the throat, the inside of the angle with the shank.

The weight was 15 cwt. Anchors of that weight were carried by sloops of 200 tons.

The tonnage of the *Bethia*, afterwards H.M.S. *Bounty* as determined by survey was 220 $\frac{26}{94}$ (H.M. Armed Vessel, *Bounty*), by C. Knight, *M.M.* April 1936, Vol. 32).

The surveyors proposed to purchase with her two anchors of 13 cwt., 3 qr. and 13 cwt., 3 qr. 8 lb.

By Steel's list an anchor of 13 cwt. had a shank of 11 ft. 4 in. and arms of 3 ft. 10 in. The diameter of the palms was 1 ft. 8½ in., the outer diameter of the ring 1 ft. 8½ in. and 'thickness of the Ring', 2½ in.

It is pretty clear that the anchor found was not of Navy Board pattern and that it is about the size approved for the *Bounty* and may well have been hers.

It would help judgement if the shape of the arms was known. Are they nearly straight? Curved arms became usual later.

And did ships now and then anchor off Pitcairn Island?

Mr Parker informs me that the *Yankee* was formerly a German pilot schooner and that she was converted to a brigantine in 1946 by Upham's of Brixham, the yard that built the *Mayflower II*.

After the talk there has been about the *Mayflower* being too small for an Atlantic passage it is worth recalling that the *Bounty* was not a great deal larger, perhaps 30 tons or so, and she was thought suitable to send round Cape Horn.

ALAN MOORE

FORE-AND-AFT SAILS IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

One naturally dislikes having to disagree with Mr Le Baron Bowen (*M.M.* May 1957, pp. 160 seq.), whose work has so often proved useful, but I am afraid I have no choice. Like things have to happen in the field of research. When dealing with such pieces of evidence or ancient reliefs, taking them as realistic or as the schematic work of lay artists unavoidably remains largely a matter of personal opinion. The only thing I cannot refrain from condemning is the use of such words as incontrovertible, unquestionable, undisputable, etc.

G. LA ROËRIE

PROBLEMS CONCERNING NAVAL PAY

In a note appearing on pp. 159–60 *M.M.*, Vol. 43, Mr Saxby concludes that payment by ticket had ceased by the time of the mutinies of 1797. In this he is probably right, but in suggesting that the practice was confined to 'the bankruptcies of the Dutch Wars', Mr Saxby goes rather too far. Though cash payments were becoming gradually more regular, payments by ticket, with all its evils, continued to be a very live issue throughout the reigns of William III and of Queen Anne;

for ample evidence in proof of which I would refer to Navy Records Society's Vol. 89. An Act of 1795 included a clause making it obligatory to pay any man turned over to another ship the wages due to him; specifically mentioning that, if such payments were made by ticket, the tickets were to be payable in cash within one month of being presented at the Navy Office.

Even so, writing in 1710, the Navy Board, in reply to a query from the Admiralty, definitely state that, since the passing of the Act 10,784 tickets had been presented 'which' they add significantly, 'have been paid as money could be had for them'. This certainly does not look as though the tickets had in all cases been punctually honoured. More research is needed to determine the date after which tickets ceased to be issued, but it is not unlikely that the drastic reduction of the navy after the War of the Spanish Succession, and the twenty years of peace and prosperity which followed put an end to the excuse for a method which had, from the Restoration certainly until the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century, and perhaps longer, been practised at the expense of the poor seamen.

R. D. MERRIMAN

THE PREAMBLE OF THE ARTICLES OF WAR

The tercentenary of Robert Blake, who was largely responsible for the official publication of the first Articles of War, and the drafting of the new Naval Discipline Bill now before Parliament, may excuse an addition to the article by L. G. Carr Laughton, in *M.M.*, March 1921, on the question of the origin of the famous preamble and its present position.

The original version of this in the first Naval Discipline Act of 1661 (13 Car. 2. c. 9) runs as follows: 'For the regulating and better government of H.M. Navies, ships of war and forces by sea, wherein under the good Providence and protection of God the Wealth Safety and Strength of this Kingdom is so much concerned....' The Significant word is 'navies', since the modern distinction between the merchant navy and the Royal Navy was just emerging at that date. Only a few months previously the Navigation Act of 1660 (12 Car. 2. c. 18) was passed, the preamble of which runs: 'For the increase of shipping and encouragement of the Navigation of this Nation, wherein under the good Providence of God the Wealth Safety and Strength of this Kingdom is so much concerned....'

Mr Carr Laughton shows how 'concerned' was replaced by 'depend' in the Act of 1749 and has since remained. But the similarity between the Navigation Act and the Naval Discipline Act was not remarked on. Parts of the phrase were certainly in common use at that date, e.g. the charter of the Shipwright's Company of 1612 (*Autobiography of Pett*, N.R.S., p. 203), which contains the words 'very greatly concern the defence safety wealth and profit of our self, our kingdoms and subjects'.

These words are also echoed in various acts of the Interregnum (not printed in *Statutes of the Realm*) which led up to the first version of the Articles of War in 1652. Such articles of course were of long standing in the shape of medieval sea laws and instructions to captains on particular voyages. The relation between the first official articles and such precedents is illustrated in the Act appointing Blake, Popham and Deane as generals at sea and Commissioners of the Admiralty on 24 February 1649: 'the said Commissioners or any two of them have and shall have the power of Martial Law over all persons belonging to the said fleet under their command; and shall be authorized to exercise and execute the same, for the better ordering and government of the said fleet, according to such Rules and Articles as shall be given, allowed or approved by the Parliament and according to the general Customs and Laws of the Sea.'

Nothing more seems to be known of such articles until the Commons Journals record that on 10 December 1652, an act (not reprinted in *Statutes of the Interregnum*) was passed extending the term of office of the commissioners and 'that it be referred to the Council of State, to prepare the Articles of War and report them to Parliament'. This was clearly the result of Blake's well-known complaint of 1 December after the battle of Dungeness, when he requested that an enquiry should be made into 'the deportment of several commanders' (*Letters of Blake*, ed. Powell, N.R.S., p. 185) Of the nine commissioners thus appointed, a committee of four (Whitelocke, Bradshaw, Walton and Sydney—all of them regicides) was ordered on 18 December to prepare a

text, the Judges of the Admiralty having been told to do the same thing five days previously (*First Dutch War*, N.R.S., Vol. III, pp. 272, 162). Blake himself cannot have drafted the actual wording because he was at sea at the time.

These articles were read to the Council on 21 December and presented to Parliament for debate on 23 December (not 22nd, as intended). On that day, according to the Commons Journals, Whitelocke read the articles and the debate on the wording continued till 25 December, when it was ordered 'that these Articles be printed and published by the Commissioners of the Admiralty'. The test will be found in *First Dutch War*, N.R.S., Vol. III, p. 293. Since it does not constitute an act, no preamble exists; but there can be little doubt that had there been one it would have been an adaptation of the great Navigation Act of October 1651, just as the Act of 1661 adapted the Navigation Act of 1660. Thus the preamble of the 1651 Act (which may thus be said to have originated the formula) reads: 'For the increase of shipping and the encouragement of the Navigation of this Nation, which under the good Providence and Protection of God, is so great a means of the Welfare and Safety of this Commonwealth....'

That the contents of the Articles remained under review is shown by a further act constituting fresh commissioners (Blake, Monk, etc.) on 28 July 1753, in which the sense is echoed once more in the order to reform 'all abuses, as shall be necessary and behooufull to make and continue the Navy serviceable and powerful (by the blessing of God) for the Safety and Honour of his Commonwealth'. Hence they are empowered 'to make and frame such Articles Orders and Ordinances of War and military discipline, to be presented to Parliament, for the better regulating governing and discipline of the officers, seamen and army at sea'. A Judge Advocate is to be appointed and councils of war are to be held, before which offenders are to be tried according to the Articles of War.

Thus, if the wording of the preamble of the new Naval Discipline Bill, which concludes '...Her Majesty's Navy, whereon under the good Providence of God, the wealth, safety and strength of the kingdom so much depend', can be traced back almost verbatim to 1749, the formula itself goes back to 1661, and its sense can be found in the Navigation Act of 1651. It is a pity that we cannot connect Milton with the authorship (as was once suggested), but the nobility of the sentence is certainly worthy of his pen. We must, indeed, consider ourselves fortunate that so much of it has remained. According to the Report of the Select Committee on the new bill, it was a near thing that the preamble was retained at all, none of the other service acts having got one. The Statute Law Revision Act of 1893 did, indeed, abolish it; but the Admiralty continued to print it until, in 1915, their practice was legally adopted. The same thing might have happened with the present act, had not the Committee been persuaded to include the preamble with the amendment that 'chiefly depend' is replaced by 'so much depend', thereby (states the Report) bringing it 'more closely into line with the preamble of the original Act of 1661'—and with modern thought. Similarly, the use of the term 'Articles of War', omitted in the Army Act of 1955, was retained because 'it has been used for centuries in the Royal Navy'.

CHRISTOPHER LLOYD

* A contributor in *M.M.*, Vol. 22, p. 482, suggested that this change might have been inspired by the preamble of the patents of the Navy Board.

THE FILM SEA SHIPS

(See *M.M.*, Vol. 43, p. 140)

Another film which might be added to the suggested international library of maritime films, and which would certainly be of interest to the older generation of naval officers is 'The *Varyag* Affair' (Feb. 1904).

According to my informant, who saw it in Moscow a few years ago, it is an accurate documentary of the political preliminaries and the gallant last action of the cruiser and the sloop *Koreetz*. Errors noted were that Captain Lewis Bayly of the *Talbot* is shown as 'a bearded British sea dog' and that the *Talbot* plays 'God Save the King' and not, as in fact, the Imperial

Russian anthem when the *Varyag* steams out to destruction. It may be regretted that no shot is given of the rescued Russian Priest and the *Amphitrite*'s chaplain conversing in their only common tongue, ancient Greek, on the quarter-deck of that ship, one with a Makarios type beard, the other with a ginger 'Captain Kettle'. The *Amphitrite* took the Russian survivors south.

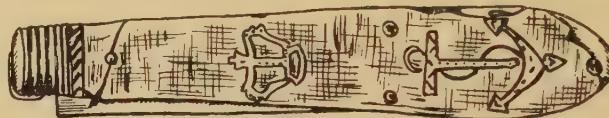
Perhaps this note may persuade the U.S.S.R. to send that film for exhibition here.

A. L. FLETCHER

NAVAL PENKNIFE

The penknife illustrated below, appears to have some Naval connexion. The outer case is tortoise-shell, the inlay silver, and although now sadly battered it must once have been a choice and expensive article. On the base of the blade are letters which may be *A C D IX*. Can any reader tell me anything about it?

J. D. SPINNEY



THE DEVONSHIRE AND THE BATTLE OF BARFLEUR

Lists of the English fleet at Barfleur (e.g. Laird Clowes and De la Roncière) include the *Devonshire* 80. Her log at the P.R.O. shows that at the time of the battle she was lying at Southampton without guns on board. She commissioned for trials in the Channel after this.

L. G. CARR LAUGHTON

Sergison gives the *Devonshire* as 'added' to the Navy on 6 May 1692; the battle was fought on the 19th. Two other new 80's the *Bredah* and *Cornwall*, added on 23 April at Woolwich and Southampton respectively, are also included in lists of the fleet, but may be doubtful. Charnock does not credit any of the three Captains concerned with having been present at Barfleur.

R. C. ANDERSON

THE SUSAN VITTERY

(See *M.M.*, Vol. 43, p. 16)

'Yet who now remembers... the *Susan Vittery*...?' asked the late Basil Lubbock. He need not have despaired. So long as one remains alive of the present generation of Irish coastal seamen and shiplovers, her name and reputation will be treasured. She was the last wind-powered schooner registered in Ireland, and was for a long time owned by Captain Creenan of Ballinacurra, Co. Cork, famous schooner port in its day. Captain Creenan acted also as her master, and I spent a very happy week with him in her ten years ago. She was a beautiful ship, much disfigured in her last days when, after Captain Creenan's death, she reverted to her record-breaking name *Susan Vittery* (Creenan had called her the *Brooklands*) but had an engine installed and her mizen-mast removed. I saw her in this state in Dún Laoire early in 1953. She was then ninety-four years old, having been built at Dartmouth in 1859. A few weeks later she was lost off the Tuskar Rock. Some snapshots I took of her at Dún Laoire the last time I saw her were probably the last ever taken of her. Though not very clear, they show a painful contrast with the ship depicted on p. 13 of Anderson's *Coastwise Sail*, where she appears as we in Ireland best knew her.

J. E. DE COURCY IRELAND

The late Basil Lubbock's article 'Merchantmen Under Sail, 1815-1932' mentions the old 'fruiters' and asks: 'Who knows or remembers now the *Jane Slade*, or the *Susan Vittery* or the *Chocolate Girl*?'

I can give some details of the *Susan Vittery* re-named *Brooklands*; she was a regular visitor to the Port of Dublin, and in the year 1937 I noticed her beating up against a strong ebb in the River Liffey, her topsail full, and her carefully patched mainsail shining in the sun. Her gear was old, and she lacked paint on her topsides, but nothing was amiss aloft, and I was informed that she made excellent coasting passages. Her fine lines were not of course shown to advantage, but nothing could disguise her obvious good breeding.

Her master, incidentally, kept a small licensed premises in the days when cargoes were scarce, and was a prime seaman of the old school.

J. S. CONAN

THE 'MYSTERY SHIP' OF VOL. XI

More than 30 years ago in the course of an article on 'The Study of Ship Models' Laughton discussed and reproduced a draught of an apparently late seventeenth-century 3-decker showing so many unusual and incongruous features that he was driven to describe it as a 'mystery ship'. He pointed out that the draught clearly 'does not represent an actual ship, but a project which was never carried into effect' and ended by saying: 'I have formed some opinion of the date and of the occasion of the draught, but prefer not to put this forward at present.' He also suggested that the ship would 'doubtless provoke discussion', but here he was somewhat optimistic; if there was any discussion, it never got as far as print. The only person who had anything to say was myself, and I merely pointed out (1925, p. 208) two small points where Laughton seemed to have overstated the ship's abnormality.

For those who are not able to refer to our Vol. xi, I will repeat the more remarkable features of the ship in question. She had the length of a First Rate of 1720 with the beam of a similar ship in the 1670's and was to carry 100 guns weighing in all only about two-thirds of what a normal 100-gun ship's armament would weigh. Her ornamental fashions were to some extent mutually incompatible, but tended on the whole to suggest a date not far from 1670.

One clue to the date Laughton kept 'up his sleeve'; he can hardly have failed to appreciate its importance. The paper on which the draught was made bears a watermark belonging to the reign of William III, a crowned shield with a fleur-de-lis, a mark like an elongated figure 4—I have forgotten what this signifies—and the monogram WR. This points to a date not earlier than 1694 for the actual drawing, and though it is possible that what we have is a copy, I feel it is most unlikely. The draught is not among those which have found their way to the National Maritime Museum, but Laughton left a tracing of the watermark with the inscription: 'Watermark on Adm'y sheer draught of Mystery Ship', having first written 'Sov'n of Seas' and crossed this out.

The figures given for the armament are worth considering in some detail. Laughton merely noted the discrepancy between the total weight of 108 tons and the 170 or thereabouts of the guns in a normal First Rate. He did not call attention to the fact that the weights ascribed to individual guns on the various decks show that the ship was intended to carry only 12-pounders and 9-pounders on the two lowest decks where the standard armament consisted of 42-pounders and 18-pounders. This is assuming, as I think we have a right to assume, that the guns were to be of normal proportions; carronades were still far in the future.

What Laughton's reserved judgement would have been I do not know. I think he must have put the draught somewhere in the 1690's, but as to the 'occasion' that he had in mind I have no idea. For my part I feel that the design owes more to the shipwright than to the naval officer; the ship would have been easy to build and easy to work, but she would have shown up badly in action against any normally armed 3-decker, even an 80-gun ship.

R. C. ANDERSON

THE WRECK OF SIR CLOUDESLEY SHOVELL

In 1883 a pamphlet was published at Gloucester entitled 'The Shipwreck of Sir Cloudesley Shovell in the Scilly Islands in 1707' by James Herbert Cooke, F.S.A. The editor prints some 'Notes' by Edmund Herbert (1635-1769), who in 1709, was 'offered and accepted the conduct of some operations which were then set on foot for the recovery of property' lost in the wrecks

of four ships of the Squadron of Shovell's twenty-one vessels. The original document is said to have been 'written closely on both sides of a sheet of foolscap paper, folded with a wide margin'. As this was written only two years after Shovell's death, it should be of interest to Scillonians and has been transcribed with abbreviated words spelt out in full but with original capitals and spelling. The date, wrongly given as the 23rd, should be 22nd.

'Sir Cloutesley Shovel cast away 8 hr. 23. being Wednesday, between 6 and 7 at night, others say between 4 and 5, between night and day, off Guislane, was found on shoar at Porthellick Cove in St Marie's Island, stript of his shirt, which by confession was known, by 2 women, which shirt had his name at the gusset at his waist; where by order of Mr Harry Pennick¹ was buried 4 yards off the sands; which place I myself viewed & as was by his grave, came by said woman that first saw him after he was stript; his ring was also lost off his hand, which however left the impression on his finger, as also of a second. The Lady Shovel offered a considerable reward to any one who should recover it for her & in order thereto wrote Capt. Benedick, Dep. Governor & Commander in Chief of Islands of Scilly; giving him a particular description thereof, who used his utmost diligence both by fair and foul means, though could not hear of it. Sir Cloutesley had on him a pair of thread stockings and a thread waistcoat. Others say a flannel waistcoat and a pair of drawers. Mr Paxton, Purser of the *Arundel* caused him to be taken up and knew him to be Sir Cloutesley by a certain black mold under his left ear, and also by the first joyn of one of his forefingers being broken inwards formerly by playing at Tables; the said joyn of his finger was also small and taper, as well as standing somewhat inwards; he had likewise a shot in his right arm, another in his left thigh. Moreover he was well satisfied 'twas him, for he was as fresh when his face was washt as if only asleep; his nose likewise bled as tho' alive,², which Mr. Paxton said was because of himself, for Sir Cloutesley had preferred him to Purser of *Arundel* and was his particular friend. They carried him to Mrs Bant's in the island & had on shoar several Doctors of the shps of the fleet but none could embalm or embowell him; neither did any of the fleet take much notice of him, but as Mr Paxton was carrying him on board the *Arundel*, Capt. -- Commander³ of the *Salisbury* ordered him on board his ship; wherefore they put him on board the *Salisbury* on a bare table, the table was Mrs Bant's, and a sheet only to cover him; the table they kept but the sheet they sent on shoar; and on board the *Salisbury* they carried him to Plymouth where he was embalmed⁴ and afterwards conveyed to London by land carriage. Sir Cloutesley was the first man came on shoar, saving one, of the almost 1800 lost in the wreck. His Commission was brought on shoar by one --, and his chest which was by him taken up floating. Many that saw him said his head was the largest that ever they had seen, and not at all swell'd with the waters, neither had he any bruise or scar about him, save only a small scratch above one of his eyes like that of a pin. Was a very lusty comely man and very fat.

Capt. Loads⁵, Commander of the *Association*, Sir Cloutesley's Captain as Admiral, but Capt. Whitacre⁶ was Captain of the ship, which Sir Cloutesley was on board of when cast away, was also taken up on St Marie's island, in the same cove near Sir Cloutesley, and buried in Oldtown Church whose burial 'twas reported cost £90, but Mr Withe who was manager of it says $\frac{1}{2}$ that sum. This Mr Withe rais'd a report that Mr Pennick buried Sir Cloutesley before cold, but had said gentleman liv'd 'twould have cost him dear, but himself had misfortune to be cast away, A.D. --. Mr James Narborough, others say Sir John Narborough, and the Lord Bishop Trelawney's son, was likewise buried in said Church very honourably. Sir Cloutesley had a naked small greyhound cast on shoar in the same cove with, and not far distant, as about a bowshot, from him, with a collar of his name &c. round its neck. There came on shoar in or very near the same cover the stern of Sir Cloutesley's barge, which gives ground to believe he had time to get in it with some of his crew, tho' most people are not of that mind; Captain Loads, Sir John and Mr James Narborough, also the Bishop Trelawney's son, being all cast on shoar on St Marie's island, give further matter of credit. The *Association*, the *Rumney* and the *Eagle*, were all cast away on said rock & but one soul sav'd, called --⁷, who was Quarter master of the *Rumney*, a north country man near Hull, a butcher by trade, a lusty fat man but much batter'd with the rocks. Most of the Captains, Lieutenants, Doctors &c. of the Squadron came on shoar and ask'd him many questions in relation to the wreck, but not one man took pity on him, either to dress or order to be dress'd his bruises &c.,

¹ Henry Penneck, chaplain, 'came and went in 1707', J. C. Tonkin, *Guide to Scilly*, 1893, p. 89.

² It was at one time a popular belief that nose-bleeding was a sign of love and friendship.

³ Francis Hosier.

⁴ By Dr James Younge.

⁵ Edmund Loades.

⁶ Samuel Whitaker.

⁷ George Lawrence; he was entered on the books of the *Salisbury* the day after the wreck.

wherefore had perish'd had not Mr Ekins, a Gentleman of the Island, charitably taken him in; and a doctor of a merchant ship then in the road under convoy of *Southampton &c.* search'd his wounds and applied proper remedies. At the time this horrible accident happen'd there was in Scilly the Welsh Fleet with men of war,¹ viz. the *Southampton*, —, —, —, —, whose boats were early out the next morning in quest of the flotsam goods, very much whereof were by them taken up; they matter'd not the wines brandys &c. at the first, but let 'em swim by their boats, and pursued what they had hopes were richer, so that most of the casks stav'd, and the liquors were lost in the ocean. The Squadron consisted of 20 Men of War and 2 Fire ships, and had with them also one prize. About one or two after noon on the 23rd October Sir Cloutesley call'd a council & examined the Masters what latitude they were in; all agreed to be in that of Ushant on the coast of France, except Sir William Jumper's Master of the *Lenox*, who believ'd 'em to be near Scilly & that in 3 hours should be up in sight thereof, which unfortunately happened, but Sir Cloutesley listened not to a single person whose opinion was contrary to the whole fleet. (They then alter'd their opinion and thought themselves on the coast of France, but a lad on board the —, said the light they made was Scilly light, tho' all the ships crew swore at & gave him ill language for it; howbeit he continued in his assertion and that what they made to be a sail and a ship's lanthorn proved to be a rock called the Great Smith, of the truth of which at daybreak they was all convinced.) Whereupon despatched the *Lenox* & —, —,² for Falmouth which ships were drove in between the rocks to Broad Sound where they came to an anchor about 2 in the morning of the 24th [23rd] after the wreck had happened, tho' to those ships as yet unknown; about daybreak they weigh'd and sail'd for Falmouth as ordered, with news of a wreck on Scilly rocks, but knew not what sail were lost. After the departure of the ships from the Fleet, according as Sir William's Master had believed they were indeed engaged with the rocks; the weather then being stormy, they could not see the light on St Agnes; not yet knowing where they were they fir'd —, soon after which they struck on the Ledge —, and bilged; the *Rumney* also struck immediately and staved on the Guilstone. The *Eagle* was lost on the Gunnar or thereabouts, by what of the wreck floated to St Just and other places at Lands End & up North Channel.

The author of the pamphlet states that the Admiral's temporary burial place has been made the subject of a ridiculous legend from the circumstance that the grass does not grow upon it. The story is to the effect that on the fatal 22nd a sailor on board the *Association* ventured to express an opinion, contrary as we have seen, to that of the majority, that the fleet was very near the Scilly Islands, and not, as was supposed, off the coast of France, and was hanged at the yard-arm by order of the Admiral for his insubordination and freedom of speech. This tyrannous and barbarous act, the Islanders say, brought a curse upon its author which speedily resulted in his own shipwreck and death and the extinction of his name, in consequence of which the grass refuses to grown even upon his temporary grave. If this silly tale does not bear upon its face its own refutation, it will be sufficient to point out that no knowledge of any such incident existed upon the island two years afterwards or it would have been duly noted in Mr Herbert's paper.

The fantastic and libellous story that Shovell hung a man at the yard-arm is still current in Scilly and even now sometimes appears in print. One of the few contemporary sources of information is a letter dated at St Hilary, 16 November 1707,³ from John Ben to the Bishop of Winchester concerning inquiries which his brother was making in Scilly with regard to the fate of Bishop's son, Henry Trelawney. This confirms Herbert, if confirmation was needed, that the survivor was 'saved out of the *Rumney*' who 'tells that Sir Cloutesley was to the windward of all the ships and fired 3 guns when he struck, and immediately went down, as the *Rumney* a little after did'.

This letter contradicts Herbert's statement that Trelawney's body was washed up at Port-hellick. He was first buried on Agnes and was disinterred and identified by Ben and Captain Matthew Sansom of the *Phoenix*, which was ashore. The body was taken over to St Mary's and buried in Oldtown Church on 8 November 'with all the marks of respect and honour, the Island could show on such an occasion.'

Robert Heath, who was in Scilly for a year from May 1744 in his *History*, published 1750, says

¹ There were seven men of war in the Roads: *Southampton*, *Arundel*, *Lizard*, *Salisbury*, *Antelope*, *Hampshire* and *Charles*.

² *La Valeur* and *Phoenix*.

³ First printed in *Transactions of Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 1851, p. 48.

that Porthellick had been proposed as 'a place fit for improving into a safe harbour for ships. And by Sir Cloutesley's body coming ashore at this place some suppose that it pointed at some future benefit to this country.' This does not look as if Sir Cloutesley's association with the island was then looked upon as unlucky.

The statement in brackets about the boy giving a warning is a marginal note in the original and is apparently the genesis of the hanging legend. Unfortunately, the ship's name is missing but she must have been one of the three that were detached for Falmouth by the Admiral after he had held a council of masters at about 2 p.m. As the main fleet did not make sail until 5.30 p.m. (*Monmouth's log*) the three ships must have sailed ahead and found themselves in Broad Sound while it was still light enough for a rock to be mistaken for a sail. The *Lennox* and *La Valeur* anchored for the night and sailed at daybreak passing through the Sound, but the *Phoenix* stranded and was in Scilly for some days before she was refloated. The *Phoenix* is the only ship that could have been off the Great Smith rock at daybreak and it is to this ship that the boy most probably belonged.

It is this story of the warning, not mentioned by Heath, which was elaborated by the Rev. John Troutbeck, Chaplain 1780-95, in his *Survey of Scilly*, published 1794. He says that the incident took place on board the *Association* and that the 'man was ordered to be punished for endeavouring to raise a mutiny on board.' The Rev. George Woodley, in his book *View of the Present State of the Scilly Islands*, 1882, goes one further and says that he was hanged, after having made a request that the 109th psalm should be read before his execution. This is the first reference in print to the hanging, more than a century afterwards, and it is strange that no mention of this was made by Troutbeck who, according to Woodley related 'everything that he heard respecting Scilly with equal minuteness and precision, whatever might be the object of his attention'.

One member of the *Association*'s crew was fortunate enough to escape and that was her chaplain who 'happened to go on board another ship that morning in order to administer the sacrament to some dying people and by this means his life was saved'.¹

The *Firebrand* fireship, not mentioned by Herbert, was also lost, and we learn from the *Arundel's* log in the Public Record Office that her captain, Francis Percy, and seventeen men were saved in a boat and that five more got ashore on pieces of wreck.

A few extracts from log-books show that the *Monmouth* made the first danger signal by firing a gun at seven o'clock, when she sighted a rock to leeward. This time is confirmed by the *Torbay*, the flagship of Rear-Admiral Sir John Norris. The *Swiftsure* records that at 7.30 p.m. 'fell in with the islands of Scilly; the General fired one gun, as we plainly saw, and immediately lost sight of him'. The last reference to the *Association* is by the *Somerset* which states that at 8.30 p.m. 'we lost sight of our Admiral's light at once and saw Scilly light bearing NNE, three miles'.

J. W. Damer Powell

TABOO-WORDS AMONG SEAMEN AND FISHERMEN

(M.M., Vol. 43, p. 60)

Mr W. A. King-Webster mentions some interesting taboo-words which were forbidden to use on board a ship. A similar superstition was well known in Scandinavia and the Baltic, especially among fishermen. A very good analysis of this theme is given by Dr Svalé Solheim in the Norwegian Folklore Institute in Oslo: *Nemningsfordomar ved fiske* (*Name Prejudices at Fishing*), published in Oslo, 1940. He gives evidence from Norway, the Faroe, Shetland and Orkney Islands, the Hebrides, Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Estonia and Livland. It was forbidden to mention the boat, the tackle, the fish, but also domestical and wild animals, priests and churches, the sun, the wind, the sea itself, fish places and certain place names, etc. The people had to use synonyms. They thought it would be dangerous if they mentioned the forbidden names,

¹ Campbell, *Lives of the Admirals*, 1744, Vol. iv, p. 34.

because the mighty powers in the nature might be angry if they heard them, and then would give them bad professional luck.

Similar superstitions among Estonian fishermen are treated by Professor O. Loorits in *Gedanken-, Tat- und Wortabu bei den estnischen Fischern* (1939).

Among the farmers in Denmark there also existed certain taboo-words. It was, for instance, forbidden to say 'mouse'—they had to say 'the grey ones', else the mice would eat the corn.

From old times it was thought to bring ill luck if women went on board. From craftsmen we know that they would not allow a woman to be present in the workshop when important work was done. Clearly this is an old sex taboo. To have priests aboard a ship was also thought to be dangerous. This seems to be a survival from pagan times.

HENNING HENNINGSSEN

THE MODEL OF THE ROYAL GEORGE OF 1715

The model of an early eighteenth-century English 100-gun ship in the Technical High School of Hanover was first introduced to English readers in 1924 in Morton Nance's *Sailing-Ship Models*. It appeared also in the second (1949) edition of that book and in Köster's *Modelle alter Segelschiffe*. As to the ship represented opinions have differed widely; it has been identified as Balchen's *Victory* (1737), as the *Royal George* of 1715 and even as the next ship of that name, built in 1756, in spite of the fact that it is known to have been given to the University of Göttingen in 1744 by the Prince of Wales, afterwards George III.

This last identification was probably due to the close resemblance of the model to the ship in Charnock's plate, called by him the *Royal George* of 1756, but in reality the ship of 1715. As for the claim for Balchen's *Victory*, it may have arisen from the fact that that ship was lost in the year of the model's presentation. Actually there is no doubt whatever that the model represents the 1715 *Royal George*; comparison with the draught of that ship and with Baston's named print would be enough to prove this and the measurements of the model only confirm what was already obvious. This is set out clearly by Mr Friedrich Jorberg in an article in the issue of November 1955 of *Schiff und Hafen*, a periodical so largely given over to present-day affairs that this important communication might well be overlooked.

As a continuation of the article there is a description by Mr Horst Anders of the damage suffered by the model during the war and of what has been done, or remains to be done, to put this right. The two sections are illustrated by reproductions of the draught, of Baston's and Charnock's plates, and of a number of new photographs of the model as a whole and of details.

R. C. ANDERSON

THE 'SYMONDITES'

The performance of the 'Symondite' ships is a mystery to me. The first of them to take part in 'experimental sailing', i.e. competitive trials, was the *Columbine* brig. This was in 1827 and Symondites were in all the trials from then to 1846. Reports about them, both as to the trials and to their general behaviour at sea, are so voluminous that it is impossible to read them all; and opinions based on them are widely contradictory. The large collection of letters in Sharp's *Life of Symonds* are uniformly laudatory; the official reports are often unfavourable. Fincham, *History of Naval Architecture*, pp. 220-55, is in general unfavourable, but then it is clear that Fincham regarded Symonds as an interloper, as indeed he was, and that in spite of trying to be fair he could not get rid of a certain amount of prejudice.

There is a quaint paragraph in *The Nautical Magazine* of 1846, ostensibly written by a blue-jacket, who says that he cannot make head or tail of what other people say as to which ships were best, but he does know that for rolling, pitching and lee-lurches the Symondites beat the lot. My father served in a Symondite and to some extent his experience confirmed this. He said she (*Algiers* 91) was a good enough ship in the main, but that like others of her type she had a nasty little sharp lurch or kick at the end of the lee roll and that this at times cleared the ward-room table.

I should like to know, but cannot discover, the scientific explanation of this; Fincham gives none. The metacentre and centre of gravity are not marked on the draughts, and indeed it is doubtful if Symonds was enough of a mathematician to calculate them. The centre of buoyancy, from the peg-top form of the bottom must have been very high, perhaps about one-quarter of the draught below the load water-line. As to the position of the centre of gravity one can only guess; but we have this to help us, that Symonds relied for stability on form rather than on ballast. His ships always had very little ballast and he tended to reduce this quantity, aiming at getting the requisite trim with equipment and stores alone. Now, as all these ships carried a heavy armament, this would seem to imply that the centre of gravity must have been very high; if so, in anticipating performance, there can have been no valid comparison between a frigate or ship-of-the-line on the Symondite model and a cutter or a yacht. The two former would have very heavy weights above the waterline, the two latter very little.

We know, quite apart from Symonds, that this peg-top model has given satisfactory results in small vessels, schooners, brigs, brigantines, cutters and yachts, at any time from, say, 1680 to the present time. Why was it comparatively unsuccessful in larger ships? Is there any factor other than the difference of top weights to be taken into account?

What is essentially the Symondite section is still common and successful in small craft, namely peg-top bottom, the breadth well above water and moderate tumble-home. In these vessels the centre of gravity is kept low; what would be the effect of raising it? Apparently it might, owing to the great beam, be raised very considerably without seriously affecting the initial stability. Even the large Symondites were not complained of in this respect; their normal sailing angle was small, 5° to 7° or little more. But, assuming that they came to their bearing at 7° , what happened then, if they caught a puff or were hit by a sea? My idea is that up to that point they were putting in a bigger sector than they were taking out; beyond that point this advantage probably ceased, if indeed they did not begin to put in less than they took out. In other words, beyond a normal angle of heel their stability, dynamic stability, would be much reduced.

Would this account for what is called the 'kick' at the end of the lee roll? If so, were the ships at that point approaching a dangerous position? It should not be forgotten that some years later when fine seamanship was less common, some of the Symondite brigs, fairly heavily armed, disappeared at sea. So did the *Atlanta*, a small frigate, in 1880.

But why did Fincham copy Symonds's section very exactly in the *Raleigh*?

L. G. CARR LAUGHTON

THE OLD ARSENAL OF VENICE

When the survivors of Aquileia, fleeing from the wrath of Hun and Lombard, finally settled on the marshy islands of the Venetian lagoon, one of their first needs must have been for ships; and so it comes that in the old chronicles we find mention of ship-building yards in Venice as early as the sixth century. These yards or *Squeri* consisted, at that time, of but a few simple wharves and building slips established on the various islands surrounding Rialto. One of the more important of them was situated at S. Marco, in a locality then known as Terranova, and where to-day stands the garden of the palazzo Reale and the offices of the Captain of the Port.

The Doge Ordelafo Falier, following the second Syrian war, and owing to the pressing demand by the Crusaders for ships to transport them to the Holy Land, realized the necessity of creating a properly equipped and organized dockyard under state control, for the construction of ships.

About 1104 the arsenal was constructed in a marshy locality to the east of the city, which from its easy accessibility from the Bacino S. Marco lent itself admirably to the work; moreover, it was at that time isolated from the residential portion of the city; this is the same locality which is known to-day as the Arsenale Vecchio.

In the course of time, and particularly after the conquest of Constantinople by the great Doge Enrico Dandolo in 1209, when more than a fourth of the territory of the Eastern Empire was assigned to the Republic, the arsenal became insufficient to the needs of the Venetian Navy; more and more land was taken in and new docks and building slips constructed. In 1395 further

enlargement was decided on, and the whole Lago di S. Daniele (now the Darsena Grande) was incorporated. About the same time the Great Wall, two miles in extent and guarded by 12 watch towers, was built to enclose the new arsenal. Finally, about 1400, further improvements and alterations were made, but no enlargement, except in providing a sheltered position for the construction of galleys.

Twenty-four covered building slips were erected, and a number of covered docks for the fitting out of ships and vessels already launched. These latter, still in existence to-day, were largely used during the 1914 war for hiding floating batteries from the prying eyes of the enemy aircraft.

With the introduction of firearms, the eastern portion of the arsenal was reserved for the manufacture of gunpowder and for the casting of bronze cannon.

In 1473 came the third enlargement which entailed three years work. A new basin or wet dock was constructed for the accommodation of ships ready to take the sea and for their repairs.

This new area was called 'Nuovissima'. Later again further and larger slips, sheds and jetties were constructed, and the arsenal assumed a more varied aspect. Stores for wood, sail cloth, cordage, spars, oars and boats and various munitions of war were established; for this was the arsenal's golden age; 16,000 workmen were employed and their output in times of emergency was extraordinary.

During the Turkish War, which culminated with the victory of Lepanto, it is said that 100 galleys were turned out of the dockyard in 100 days. On another occasion a galley, the keel of which alone had been laid, was completed in two hours for the entertainment of a visiting sovereign. Indeed it may be said that in the arsenal lay the force which generated the power and wealth of Venice, it was in fact the mainstay of the Republic's greatness.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century the gradual decline of Venice's sea power commenced, the discovery of the Cape route to India very seriously affected her Eastern trade and less and less ships and galleys were required and the arsenal suffered in consequence. In March 1509 a fire broke out accompanied by explosions of the powder magazines, which destroyed several work-ships and a large part of the wall facing the Rio S. Daniele. This necessitated the acquisition of a new area to isolate all the explosive stores, and the marshy zone lying between the Novissimo, the Convent of S. Francisco delle Virgine and S. Maria alla Celestra, was enclosed by walls. In spite, however, of these alterations and additions another fire broke out in the vicinity on the night of 14-15th September 1539 which destroyed a large part of the wall and several buildings, besides causing much damage to the neighbouring churches and convents. After that the powder magazines were removed to S. Angelo di Contata, afterwards known as S. Angelo della Polvera. Following this, new wharves were constructed for the berthing of galleys, which in accordance with a new enlargement scheme of 1564 were replaced in communication with the Arsenale Vecchio by a canal called the Canale della Galleazze.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the plot against the Republic organized by the Marchese Bedmar, Spanish Ambassador to Venice, with the connivance of the Duca D'Ossuna, viceroy of Naples, and of Pietro di Toledo, Governor of Milan, was discovered, the arsenal was entirely surrounded by water and guarded by troops, the entrances being closed by heavy gates.

From this time on decay was slow but certain, during the whole of the seventeenth century the great dockyard suffered from the terrible canker of decadence which had eaten its way to the heart of the once proud Queen of the Adriatic. By the time of the fall of the Republic it had indeed fallen sadly from its ancient splendour. The construction of ships still continued, but very very slowly; the workmen were reduced to a beggarly 2000, many wharves and jetties had been put to other uses or had fallen into ruins. Of the twelve docks of the Novissimetta five were used as stores sheds, three more for breaking up old vessels, one for the construction of galleys; the remaining three accommodated two-gun vessels and a frigate. Of the thirteen building sheds along the north quay of L'Isolotto six only were in use and contained four small vessels and three frigates under construction.

Under Buonaparte came the final humiliation, of destruction and spoliation. The Corsican had no mind to present Austria with a naval base dominating the Adriatic, so gave orders for the dismantling of the arsenal; and in order to celebrate the cessation of aristocratic government, the

French set out to destroy the marble lions which adorned the walls and buildings. By the treaty of Campo Formio, the city of Venice was obliged to surrender many of her works of art, and the spoliation commenced with the arsenal. Rare weapons of iron and bronze, small arms, rich materials and stores of all kinds were seized as were also the ships and vessels that could immediately be utilized; the remainder were sunk or destroyed before the date of the cession of the city to Austria.

On Christmas day 1797, the arsenal workers were replaced by French troops and the following day began the work of destruction which commenced with the ravishing of the treasure chest.

All ships on the stocks, great or small, were sawn through the keel, and then the supports were knocked from under their bottoms and they were suffered to fall on their beam ends, useless wrecks. Ships and vessels afloat were holed below water and sunk where they lay.

The *Bucintoro*, the great state barge of the Republic, and the most magnificent and sumptuous vessel the world had ever seen, in which the Doge went yearly on Ascension day to the ceremony of the wedding of the waters, was wantonly hacked to pieces. Then the French departed.

Although Venice had been assigned to Austria by the treaty of Campo Formio, she in her turn ceded it to Italy; but for the first few years of Italian occupation nothing was done in the arsenal. At the end of 1806, however, there were launched a gun vessel and a brigantine, and later seventeen shallow draught gunboats for the lagoons, a frigate and a brigantine. Indeed when the French (convinced that the Italian Monarchy would last) resumed control the dockyard appeared to be taking a new lease of life. The workmen were increased to 3500, the ground containing the convent and church of the Celestia (the religious orders having been suppressed) was taken in, and work was commenced on making a channel to the lagoon to allow for the passage of 80-gun ships. The construction of the tower of the Porta Nuova, destined to facilitate the masting and dismantling of ships, was commenced, and several enlargements and improvements to the building sheds were made.

Several other great projects remained unfinished when in 1814 came the sudden and unforeseen end of the Italian Monarchy, and the return of the Austrians. During the French period were constructed several ships of the line, and a few frigates and other small vessels.

During the second Austrian domination 1814 to 1848 Austria did much for the arsenal of Venice; but only during the first years; amongst other works, the tower of the Porta Nuova commenced by the French was completed. When, however, the Austrian government discovered that amongst the officers of the Naval College of Venice were many members of the secret political society, known as the *Carboneria*, the college was transferred to Pola on the Dalmatian coast, and that port was organized as the Maritime Military Base of the Empire, to the exclusion of the nearby but neglected Venice.

The various revolutionary governments which succeeded from March 1848 to August 1849 were unable to do anything for the Venice arsenal, which was dedicated solely to the defence of the city. It is perhaps interesting to note that one unhappy frigate which was laid down by the Austrians, and which the Venetians were unable to complete during their brief period of independence was christened by them 'Italia'. After the surrender of Venice on 24 August 1849, this ship became part of the Austro-Hungarian Navy with the name of 'Novara'. It was at the battle of Novara that the Austrians defeated the Italians.

During the third period of Austrian domination, 24 August 1849 to 20 October 1866, Austria, always convinced that she would one day or another have to abandon Venice, did nothing to better the arsenal but instead amplified and improved that of Pola.

With the annexation of Venice by Italy in 1870 came the restoration of the arsenal, which was altered and organized to satisfy all demands for the defence of the Adriatic. The Austrians had left it without any plant or facilities for the construction of iron ships, and with docks too small and in too bad repair to undertake the berthing of large vessels. It was for these reasons decided to reunite the two basins of the Nuova and Novissima by removing the tongue of land between them known as L'Isolotto, and in addition two fine masonry dry-docks were constructed. Several other improvements were also made such as the building of new offices and magazines, and incorporation of the artillery depot or gun wharf. When in the first decade of 1900, the Dread-

nought type of battleship made its appearance it was decided to extend the docks to the northward, and to construct one of a size to take the new type of vessel. This new dock constituted a magnificent feat of hydraulic engineering which was only finished during the Great War.

From the time that Italy joined the Allies in 1915 till the end of hostilities, the Venice arsenal was kept working at full pressure, not alone in connexion with the Italian Naval Forces of the Adriatic, but also for the Allies submarines and above-water torpedo craft. At the present time there is little activity in the old arsenal. Italy has little to fear now in the Adriatic and with further reductions of naval forces the chances of L'Arsenale ever again attaining to great importance are small.

A. MACDERMOTT

SPEED UNDER SAIL

(See *M.M.*, Vol. 43, p. 225)

I support the view put forward by Captain Learmont, that claims of runs made in excess of 400 miles a day, by any sailing-ship, are at least doubtful and are probably fictitious. It has always struck me as at least curious that (disregarding the odd and little publicized claims dredged up by Carl Cutler) it was only while passengers were being carried that such claims were made at all. The inference is plain, that they were what is now known as 'good publicity'. In my own experience, in large and powerful ships including the fast four-masted barque *Herzogin Cecilie*, any day's run in a deep-loaded ship in excess of 300 miles was unusual, and the best day I can recall in the *Herzogin Cecilie* was just over 310 miles noon-to-noon. Captain de Cloux said that his best run, in her, even in ballast with splendid sailing conditions, was 335 miles noon-to-noon, and he did not believe in the 400-mile-plus runs. It was not her capacity for high speeds which gave a square-rigged ship an outstanding passage, but the ability of her master to use all the winds he got in the best possible manner, and to keep his ship going. It is odd that the great runs are claimed for ships which failed to make 'record' passages, and the ships holding the real records did not ever claim 400-mile days at all—or anything like it.

As for that dog-leg plotted by the big *Champion of the Seas* on the occasion of her alleged great run, it seems indeed odd that, with a fair wind, the master should have thrown away so many miles in difference of latitude at a time when he did not need to change his latitude at all, and the last that can be said for the failure to record observations on the 13th—the day after the phenomenal run—is that it was extremely convenient. I find it impossible to accept this evidence, and I doubt that the ship did in fact ever make such an unnecessary dog-leg. Unless he were dodging ice, or hailing up for port, or going south to find more wind, the master would have tried to maintain approximately the same latitude throughout the days of that run. There is no record of ice: he had wind enough: and it was too early to haul up for port.

In my opinion, the only way a wooden sailing-ship, with wooden spars, could continue to sail hour after hour, watch after watch, at maximum speed would be with perfect sailing conditions under the shelter of the land, so that the sea could not get up and stop her. These claims were all made for open ocean voyages.

ALAN VILLIERS

I found Captain Learmont's article very interesting and am glad it has been published as it will help greatly to discount the extravagant claims made a hundred years ago and so often repeated since. Captain Learmont often spoke to me on this topic and I agree with him that the matter should be cleared up.

I often wonder if the 'slotted wing' effect recognized in aeroplane practice and also in present day yachts (hence the huge Genoa jib of most yachts and Brixham trawlers) is found also in square-rigged ships and, if so, is it between the columns of sails as much (Fig. 2), or between the individual sails, on each mast? (Fig. 3).

In yachts, both model and full size, it is recognized that there is a negative pressure on the fore side of the mainsail owing to the effect of the jib, and this pulls the yacht along almost as much as the wind pressure on the after side pushes it along. Perhaps Learmont had something of this kind in his mind when he speaks of back pressure.



Fig. 1. Yacht (Sloop rig).

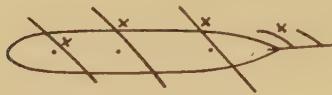


Fig. 2. Ship.

× Area of negative pressure or suction.



Fig. 3. Mast.

The reference to slack rigging on page 228 might well refer to the slackness in a new ship as Learmont suggests. The lee rigging of course always went slack under heavy weather conditions and would hardly call for special mention in the log.

E. BOWNES

Captain Learmont's remarks are valuable as the considered statements of an experienced square-rig sailor who made good passages and was a first-rate navigator. As time goes by, maritime research of this nature becomes increasingly the work of the historian and the archaeologist, and authoritative statements by practical sailors will grow in value.

The subject under review is exceedingly complex. Captain Learmont does not appear to have had access to the full range of printed source available, and his theories and remarks are based on the record passages and noon-to-noon runs scheduled in *Lloyd's Calendar*. Recourse to Cutler's *Five Hundred Sailing Records*¹ would have shown many more claims for big runs and fast speeds. The more claims there are for runs of over 400 miles, the less unusual such claims will become. But to be truly acceptable such claims must be backed up by official log books. There are still in the Marine branch of the Meteorological Office at Harrow, the remains of the logs originally assembled by Admiral Fitzroy. This collection has been reviewed in a recent issue of the *Marine Observer*², and a close study of these logs might yield further records. (I have myself examined one of the *Lightning*).

I feel that *Champion of the Seas* track for the week under review could be better analysed if her whole track in the southern hemisphere were available, together with the winds she experienced. The validity of the actual day's run of 12 December which is claimed as 465 miles is considerably weakened by the fact that no observations were possible next day. One is even left to speculate on the supposition that the run of 465 miles might cover the 2 days of 12 and 13 December, as Captain Learmont suggests.

Of the 14 days' runs of over 400 miles which Cutler gives, only two of them are backed up by the original log books. The other claims are taken from abstract logs printed by the owners or logs circularized with the ship's newspaper. The further inevitable world-wide search into sailing-ship history will surely produce conclusive evidence for or against these claims.

DAVID R. MACGREGOR

QUERIES

22. (1957.) TONNAGE MEASUREMENT. Why was such a fraction as a 94th of a ton used frequently in old tonnage measurements? In a 1795 register the Weaver flax *Betty* is given as 72⁷⁵/₉₄ tons, and a report of the *Edith Moore*, launched at Liverpool, 18 January 1858, states she was 1312⁵¹/₉₄ tons 'builder's measurement'.

K. G. RATHBONE

¹ Carl C. Cutler, *Five Hundred Records of American-Built Ships* (Marine Historical Assoc. Mystic, Conn. 1952).

² Issue of *circa* October 1955.

23. (1957.) TONS BURTHEN. How was the 'tons burthen' measured and calculated 150 years ago, and what was the Act, which I believe was passed some time in the first half of the nineteenth century, dealing with tonnage measurements and making some alterations?

K. C. RATHBONE

24. (1957.) WARRANT OFFICERS. Appointments about 1700 include those of both Gunners and Master Gunners (there were also Master Carpenters and Master Cooks but not Master Boatswains). What governed appointment to the higher rank and when was it discontinued?

I should have thought that rank might be governed by the rate of the ship or by seniority, but from a study of the Commission and Warrant Books neither theory seems to fit. On one page for 1697 I found a Master Cook appointed to a Brigantine and a Cook to a 4th rate, and on 11 February following the Gunners of the *Yarmouth* and *Dorsetshire* were apparently promoted to Master Gunners on exchanging ships. The appointments to two 4th rates on 6 February 1697 would seem to indicate that seniority had something to do with it, for one was appointed as Master Gunner having been a Gunner in his previous ship, while the other was appointed as Gunner being of 'Good Testimony', the ordinary expression used when issuing a first warrant. On the other hand, on 22 June 1697 Nathaniel Button received a warrant as Master Gunner being 'of Very Good Testimony' and though I thought at first that the *very* might indicate a special case I found other Master Gunners who were merely 'of Good Testimony'.

Some unusual warrants:

17 February 1696/7 John Petron to be Boatswain and Master gunner of the *Swift*.

14 January 1698/9 Lieut. Richard Bray, late Lieutenant of the *Jersey* now called the *Margate* to be Master Gunner of the *Trydent*.

W. E. MAY

25. (1957.) BRIG BOYNE. According to Norman, 'Corsairs of France', p. 271, the French corsair Thurot captured a British brig the *Boyne* off the north coast of Ireland on 10 February 1759. Is there any possibility of discovering where this ship was owned and registered—registration was presumably already compulsory? It is firmly believed in the little west of Ireland port of Killala, partly as the result of a reference by Arthur Young, partly tradition, that the only Killala-owned ship of the period was taken by Thurot, and of Thurot's prizes, apart from the *Dublin* collier-brig (which seems unlikely) and the *Boyne* (which might also of course just as well have been English or Scots), the names all appear extremely English. There was supposed also to be a Killala corsair in French service in the last years of the eighteenth century called Murphy, of whom no trace can be found by the authorities of the Musée de la Marine in Paris. J. DE C. IRELAND

26. (1957.) SHIPBUILDING AT STOCKTON-ON-TEES. In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic 1677, reference is made to the launching of two pinks of about 300 tons burthen at Stockton-on-Tees. This is the earliest mention of shipbuilding at this port that I have come across. Would these be naval vessels and is anything more known about them?

P. BARTON

27. (1957.) SHIPS OF MUSCAT. The list of Bombay-built ships at the end of Vol. I of Low's *History of the Indian Navy* includes three ships built for the Imaum of Muscat, the *Caroline* 36, 1814; *Shah Allum* 56, 1819 and *Liverpool* 74, 1826. Is anything more known about these ships or the service to which they belonged?

R. C. ANDERSON

28. (1957.) RIGGING OF ORDNANCE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. I would be most grateful if anyone could direct me to a source of information on the size of ropes used in breeching; run-out tackles and training tackles used on a 3-pounder or Minion.

In addition to that I would like to know if single or double blocks were used in the training tackles.

RICHARD V. EARLE

29. (1957.) THE MOMBASA JOURNAL OF LIEUT. J. J. REITZ, 1824. In 1822 Captain W. F. W. Owen, R. N. received instructions from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to survey the coast of East Africa, and later of Arabia and West Africa as well. For this purpose he was placed in command of a squadron consisting of H.M. Ships *Leven* and *Barracouta*. His officers were hand-picked, and two of them were Lieut. Thomas Boteler, R.N., who later commanded the sloop *Barracouta*, and Lieut. J. J. Reitz, who died at Mombasa in 1824.

H.M.S. *Leven* left Woolwich on 10 August 1821 and returned to Deptford (with Captain Owen) in 1826. During this period Captain Owen reported regularly to the Admiralty and he also kept a diary which was published by Richard Bentley, London, in 1833 entitled *Narrative of Voyages to explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia and Madagascar*. Boteler also kept a diary, which was also published by Bentley under the title *Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery to Africa and Arabia* in 1835.

In both these books as well as in Owen's reports to the Admiralty reference is made to the Journal kept by Lieut. Reitz from February to May, 1824, during his period as Commandant of Mombasa which ended in his death from fever on a tour of exploration along the coast (Owen, pp. 139 et seqq.; Boteler, pp. 175 et seqq.). The similarity of the relevant passages in these pages—some sentences are almost identical—suggests that both Owen and Boteler used unaltered excerpts from Reitz's Journal to describe his exploits. However, Owen refers to other experiences of Reitz in Mombasa, which seems to indicate that neither Owen nor Boteler used Reitz's Journal in its entirety.

What happened to Reitz's Journal?

John James Reitz was born in Cape Town, the son of a naval officer that had fought the English at the Doggerbank (1781) and subsequently emigrated to the Cape of Good Hope. Although there is a family legend concerning the diary in South Africa, there does not seem to be any copy extant in that country. In the foreword to Owen's book, the editor, Heaton Bowstead Robinson of Montpelier place, Twickenham, explained that since pressure of duty had prevented Captain Owen from attending to the publication of the papers, he had therefore, 'under these circumstances, entrusted to the editor (H.B.R.) the Journals of Captain Owen and of the Officers engaged under him in the expedition, and they are now presented to the world....' (The italics are mine: I believe that the Reitz Journal may be found if Owen's original diary can be traced.)

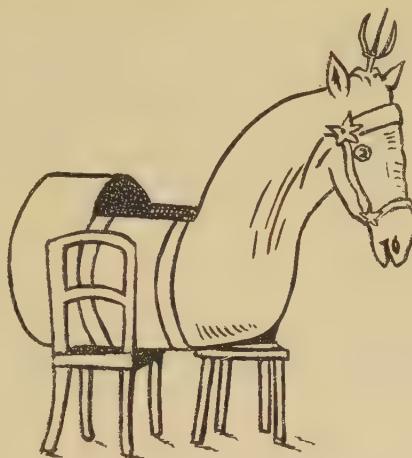
EDMUND H. BURROWS.

ANSWERS

37. (1955.) The following description of the Dead Horse ceremony, held on board Messrs Devitt and Moore's Clipper Ship *Sobraon*, on 14 November 1890, is taken verbatim from the manuscript journal of one of the saloon passengers, Mr Thomas Parkin, M.A., of Fairseat, High Wickam, Hastings, Sussex.

'7 P.M. BURIAL OF THE DEAD HORSE. The ceremony known as burying the dead horse is a curious one and is still practised in many Australian ships. Sailors before they join their ships have an advance note given them for a month's wages. This they usually spend so that the first month they may be said to be earning no wages. They therefore symbolise the first month's work by the dead horse and speak of it as "Working the dead horse". The procession with R. Bradley as jockey of the dead horse, left the fo'castle or seamens' quarters a little after seven in the evening. The crew dressed up in different characters, amongst which was that of a soldier and two policemen. The procession made the tour of the main deck singing a dismal chant, consisting of a solo chorus, one of the refrains being "Poor old Horse". The horse was then put up to auction, and was knocked down for £10. 10. 0. which was the amount collected from the passengers. The horse, with the rider on his back, was then hauled bodily from the deck to the main-yard, and

illuminated during his ascent by blue lights burnt on the yard and from one of the boats near the poop. As soon as the yard-arm was reached the rider detached the horse from the line and it fell with a splash into the water. "Rule Britannia" was then sung and after hearty cheers had been given for the Captain, the officers, the passengers and the crew the proceedings terminated.



Capt. J. A. Elmslie will not allow the usual shaving and larking which takes place on board Australian vessels when crossing the line but has the ceremony of the Dead Horse instead, which is much better as we have several invalids on board.'

Mr Parkin having some skill with the pencil, sketched the Dead Horse whilst it was, in his words, 'stabled in the fo'castle'. A sketch is enclosed of this.

ALAN E. BAX

12. (1956). COLOUR IDENTIFYING HOMONYMOUS VESSELS. The inhabitants of the island of Heligoland, which had become a British possession by capture from the Danes in 1807, were allowed the privilege of British Registry for their vessels provided that those vessels were or had been built on the island; but as the locally built vessels consisted entirely of fishing craft of 4 or 5 tons register and the larger coasting vessels were all of foreign build, this privilege was not invoked for many years. Indeed it was not until 1859, some years after the revocation of the Navigation Acts and the consequent admission of foreign-built vessels to British Registry, that the first Heligoland-owned vessel was registered; even then the Registration was made at the Port of London and not at Heligoland. In 1863 the owners of this vessel, the schooner *Three Brothers*, requested the lieutenant-governor of Heligoland that the Registry of the vessel should be transferred there, and this was allowed; two other coasters were registered in the island during the 1860's. In 1870 the international situation was so grave that the islanders generally decided to apply for the Registration of their fishing craft in order to obtain for them the protection of the British Flag, notwithstanding that the small size of these craft exempted them from compulsory registration, and eighteen of these craft were so registered in that year; 1871 saw the Registration of the only steamer, the *Victoria*, that belonged to the islanders and in the next two years only two coasters were registered. In 1874 there was a further rush to register fishing craft, sixteen being entered. Thereafter there were a few registrations of mainly new craft each year until the island was ceded to Germany in 1890 when the inhabitants were given the option of either retaining their British nationality or taking German; it appears that all of the ship-owners took the latter choice and in consequence their vessels were struck off the British Register.

It now remains to deal with the original question of the colour qualification to vessels of the

same name. As there was no British Custom House on the island it had been laid down in all of the Acts dealing with the Registration of Shipping that in Heligoland the Registration should be effected by the Lieutenant-Governor of the island; this duty no doubt devolved to one of the subordinate military staff who, quite ungrounded in the strict principles of Registration, was suddenly faced in 1870 with the papers of eighteen vessels of which four rejoiced in the name of *Peter Friedrich Ludwig, Duke of Oldenburg*. He adopted the ingenious, though not legal, method of adding a suffix to the name of each whereby the principal colour of the hull was described. Thus the four vessels and their official numbers appear as: 40515, *Peter Friedrich Ludwig, Duke of Oldenburg (white)*; 64336 *Peter Friedrich Ludwig, Duke of Oldenburg (green)*; 64337, *Peter Friedrich Ludwig, Duke of Oldenburg (red)*; 64338, *Peter Friedrich Ludwig, Duke of Oldenburg (various colours)*. Later, in 1874 and 1876, he treated the three *Zwei Gebrüder* and the three *Drei Kronen* similarly, but using German instead of English colour adjectives. Finally the three *Hoffnung* were registered properly and without qualification.

C. E. C. TOWNSEND

10. (1957.) In 1854 Messrs Jenkins and Churchward obtained the contract for the carriage of mails between Dover and Calais, which they held until 1862 when the service was taken over by the London Chatham and Dover Railway Company. In addition to the Dover-Calais run other services, both passenger and cargo, were carried on by the contractors who traded under the style of 'The English French and Belgian Royal Mail Company'.

Cross-Channel and Coastal Paddle Steamers by Frank Burtt gives particulars of the Company's activities.

The lithograph mentioned is reproduced in black and white in *Mail and Passenger Steamships of the Nineteenth Century* by Captain H. Parker and Frank C. Bowen, and from this reproduction it appears that Mr R. De Bock has fallen into error regarding the position of the flags worn by the *Empress*. The correct placing is at the bow a French Ensign flown as a Jack; at the foremasthead, the Red Ensign; at the mainmasthead, the Emperor's Standard and another French Ensign on the staff at the stern.

ALLAN E. BAX

REVIEWS

DIE KATALANISCHE NAO VON 1450. By HEINRICH WINTER. Burg b. Magdeburg (Robert Loef). 1956. 50 pages; $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ inches; with 30 illustrations in the text, 11 plates and 1 folding plan. Price DM. 5.15.

Half-size reprints of Chapman's *Architectura Navalis Mercatoria* and Pâris's *Souvenirs de Marine* were noticed in the *M.M.* in 1937-9. Now the same publisher has resumed the production of nautical books and in particular of books appealing to model-makers.

The model described in great detail by Mr Winter has been the subject of two articles in the *M.M.*, the first in 1929 by Mr Culver and the second in 1931 by Mr van Nouhuys. It came originally from Mataro, near Barcelona, and travelled as far as New York before finding a home in the Prins Hendrik Museum in Rotterdam. If genuine—and it seems certain that it must be—it is by far the oldest built model known to exist.

A glance at the plates in this book or a comparison of those in the two volumes of the *M.M.* will show that, whereas the model began its travels with three masts, it is now exhibited with one only. This 'improvement' was perhaps an attempt to meet the views of those who considered the hull too old to have had three masts and had not accepted the possibility of two. Now Mr van Nouhuys and Mr Winter agree that in all probability the mizzen should have remained, but not the foremast; since there is an actual step for a mizzen, while the foremast had been merely jabbed through the deck. There is no bowsprit and no sign that there ever was one.

The folding plate is extremely clear and contains not only the 'lines' and deck-plan, but a number of sketches of details enough, with the help of the photographs, to satisfy any model-maker. The only possible criticism is that a scale based on a height of 2 metres (6½ ft.) under the half deck is probably too great. At the same time the many illustrations in the text give a very good idea of what representations of fifteenth-century ships are known and will appeal to those whose interest takes a less practical form.

Mr Winter reproduces several of Timbotta's drawings first published in the *M.M.* in 1925. In a note on one of these (his Fig. 20 or *M.M.* 1925, p. 153) he suggests that 'the figure abaft the mast is evidently a knight-headed bitt'. This is, I think a mistake; the figure is that of the 'unfortunate mariner' who has, in an arithmetical exercise, to climb a certain distance each day and slip back part of this each night.

According to a note from the publisher the book may be obtained in this country from Messrs Francis Edwards, Ltd. It is well worth having.

R. C. ANDERSON

REVIEW-CORRECTION

On p. 264 of this year's *M.M.* in a combined notice of two German books I foolishly used the name of the first author in connexion with the second book. For the name of Mr Jorberg in the last two paragraphs that of Mr Heinsius should be substituted. I must apologize to both authors and to readers of the review.

R. C. ANDERSON

SÉVILLE ET L'ATLANTIQUE (1504-1650). By HUGUETTE AND PIERRE CHAUNU. Tome I, INTRODUCTION MÉTHODOLOGIQUE (xv + 332 pages, 3 maps, and 5 plates); Tome II, LE TRAFIC DE 1504 À 1560 (603 pages); Tome III, LE TRAFIC DE 1561 À 1595 (572 pages); Tome IV, LE TRAFIC DE 1596 À 1620 (594 pages); Tome V, LE TRAFIC DE 1621 À 1650 (530 pages). Tomes VI (comprising 2 vols.), VII and VIII (comprising 2 vols.), are in the press. These 10 volumes (8 tomes), published for the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e section, Centre de Recherches Historiques (Ports-Routes-Trafics) by the Libraire Armand Colin, Paris, 1955-58. Price of Tome I: 1600 francs. Tomes II-V: 3200 francs each (1955-6). Prices of the volumes to appear in 1957-8 not yet announced.

The first five tomes of this stupendous undertaking suffice to show that when completed it will rank with such revolutionary historical masterpieces on the grand scale as those of Gibbon, Ranke and Pastor, although the statistical method of presentation which is employed naturally precludes comparison from the literary point of view. It certainly need not fear confrontation with the only strictly comparable work in a similar field, Nina Bang's *Tabeller over Skibsfart og varetransport gennem Øresund, 1497-1660* (3 vols., Copenhagen, 1906-33), for the transatlantic trade with which it deals was even more valuable in the aggregate than the seaborne commerce through the Sound.

The work consists of two main sections, the five volumes under review comprising the bulk of the first part, which is the statistical reconstruction of the annual movement of all shipping between Spain and America from 1504 to 1650. The sixth tome will comprise two volumes totalling 1120 pages of statistical tables based on the materials published in the first five. Tome VII (*Construction graphique et cartographique*) will be a 146-page atlas of graphs and maps illustrating the findings of the preceding six tomes. This first part is justifiably claimed as being: 'La construction statistique continue le plus complète, la plus variée, la plus poussée que ait pu être édifiée pour une période aussi ancienne.' The concluding two-volume Tome VIII (1800 pp.), interprets

and expounds this vast mass of tabular, statistical, graphical, and cartographical material in terms of the Spanish-American Empire and the Atlantic Ocean from 1504 to 1650.

The introductory volume opens with a 7-page preface by Lucien Febvre in his usual masterly and lucid style. The authors then explain in detail the nature, scope and reliability of the extensive documentation in the *Archivo de Indias* at Seville on which their work is primarily based, together with a survey of other relevant records at Madrid and elsewhere. The key-source, on which all the rest depends, is the *Libro de Registros* (Inventory of ships' registers) kept by the *Casa de la Contratación* at Seville, where the trade and navigation with the Indies was so strictly centred and so tightly controlled for so long. These registers are briefly mentioned in C. H. Haring's classic *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the time of the Habsburgs* (Cambridge, Mass. 1918), but neither the American scholar nor his immediate successors realized how complete and reliable this particular series was, and the Chaunu team has been the first to utilize them to the full. Like the records used by N. Bang for the Sound, these registers improve in quality and the amount of information which they furnish, with the passage of time. From 1596 onwards they are particularly full and detailed. By using this basic source in conjunction with other contemporary records at Seville and Madrid, the authors have obtained a remarkably full and detailed coverage of nearly all relevant shipping movements.

Thanks to their exceptional industry and acumen, the authors have been able to list 17,761 individual Atlantic crossings, which they claim (no doubt correctly) constitute all but one or two percent of the total movements of shipping between Spain and America in 1504-1650. In nearly every case the name of the ship and of the master are given; and when the *Libro de Registros* really gets into its stride, the Chaunu give us details (in tabular form) for most ships which left Seville for the New World, the name of the ship, the master, the owner(s), the tonnage, the age, the type, the crew, and the destination. The details for the voyages in the opposite direction are not always so full, as records were not kept with such meticulous care on the far side of the Atlantic, where the writ of the *Casa de la Contratación* suffered from the 'obedezco pero no cumple' ('I obey but I do not carry out') attitude adopted by many colonial officials and administrators. The tabular shipping lists for each year are followed by more or less lengthy notes (usually running to several pages of small print) resuming and discussing the situation in the Atlantic as seen from the well-organized and well-informed *Casa de la Contratación*. The *Casa* not only maintained a brisk correspondence with the *Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias* (Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies) at Madrid, which was the chief judicial and administrative (and in practice often governing) organ for the Spanish colonial empire, but with its agents and correspondents in focal points such as Lisbon, the Canaries, and the Azores. From 1551 onwards we are given a detailed chronology of each voyage across the Atlantic, and there are innumerable cross-references and notes to facilitate identification of ships and persons. This is particularly necessary when there were so many homonyms. For example, eight ships out of forty-four were called *Concepción* in the fleets of 1633, and masters named (say) Juan Bautista or Pedro Diaz were two a penny.

Thanks to the mass of documentary material which has been so carefully and intelligently sifted by the authors, we have a wonderfully detailed picture of the *Carrera de Indias* or yearly course of the shipping engaged in trade and navigation between Spain and the New World. Indeed at times the canvas is so crowded that it is difficult to see the wood for the trees. But this drawback will disappear in Tome vii with its wealth of graphs and maps. Meanwhile, there is more than enough and to spare for the maritime and the economic historian, or for anyone interested in the development of the Atlantic world and its civilization.

The *Carrera de Indias* achieved its definitive pattern in the fifteen-seventies, and its growth was naturally accompanied by a vast increase in the bureaucracy and paper-work of the *Casa* which was mainly responsible for its functioning. It is interesting to follow in detail—as thanks to the assiduity of the Chaunu we can now do—how the *Casa* reacted to the attacks of French, English, and Dutch raiders on the *Carrera* from without, and to the economic penetration of the Spanish-American empire by Portuguese smugglers and slave-traders from within. We can see how the escort and convoy systems, culminating in the *Armada de la Guardia de la Carrera de Indias* and the *Armada de Barlovento* were evolved after much discussion and years of trial and error. We

can see how the escort galleons, being allowed to embark goods duty-free, came to be more or less licensed smugglers which undercut the traders who had to pay stiff duties on the goods embarked in the *flotas* which the galleons escorted. We can also watch the growth of smuggling, fraud and embezzlement in their numerous other ramifications on both sides of the Atlantic. We see how the *Casa de la Contratación*, which at one time almost laid down the law to the *Consejo de Indias*, gradually dwindled in power and influence until by 1650 it was little more than an appanage of the latter. We see how the *Casa* and the *Consejo* struggled with the recurrent crisis of shipping, freight, lack of men, want of naval stores, etc.; and these crises are themselves illuminated against the background of the larger economic and political developments in Europe and America. We can follow the origins, development, and decay of the *averia* or convoy-tax, and of the other methods by which a hard-pressed and often virtually bankrupt government strove to find the sinews of war.

The authors are adepts in discussing and explaining how geographical, strategical, political, and economic factors reacted on each other in the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Atlantic setting. They describe the condition of the principal American markets each year, not only as they actually were, but as they appeared to be to the bureaucrats and merchants in Spain. The connexion between supply and demand on both sides of the Atlantic is here studied in greater detail than ever before, as are the variable and shifting connexions between tonnage, freight and prices. It is interesting to note that the decline of ship-building in seventeenth-century Spain, particularly in the Basque and Cantabrian ports, whence came the best ships and seamen, was partially compensated by the rise of shipbuilding in the New World, where Havana, Campeche, and Puerto Rico became increasingly important centres of construction. We can also follow the growing share of the trade secured by foreign merchants domiciled in Seville, usually acting through Spanish 'men of straw'. The variations in the *tonelada*, and the perennial arguments over the respective advantages of small or of big ships in the *Carrera* are also recounted in detail, and a wealth of technical information on Spanish ship-construction is embodied in the notes. The percentage of foreign shipping which was freighted and/or commandeered for use in the *Carrera* is also carefully analysed, as are also the reasons for the gradual replacement of Seville by Cádiz as the terminal port of the *Carrera*.

The great days of both the *Carrera* and the *Casa* were in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the record year being 1608, when some 200 sail left Spanish for American ports. After 1610 the volume and value of the *Carrera* began to taper off somewhat, and they took drastic plunges downwards in 1631-5 and again in 1641-5. After 1641, there was only one annual convoy as a general rule, and both *Casa* and *Carrera* declined in importance. The authors study very closely the relationship between the economic vicissitudes of the *Carrera* and the fluctuations of the price revolution in Spain. Readers who want to know their interim conclusions on this complex matter may be referred to their article: 'A la recherche des fluctuations cycliques dans l'économie des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles. Crise de tonnage—crise de fret', printed on pp. 389-407 of the *Hommage à Lucien Febvre* (Paris, 1954).

One of the points which emerge from a perusal of *Séville et l'Atlantique* is the astounding resilience of the Spaniards, and the way in which, impoverished and inefficient as their government might be, they managed to stage a 'come-back' after the most crushing disasters. In 1605, for example, two-thirds of the richly laden homeward-bound *Armada de la Guardia de la Carrera de las Indias* was destroyed in a storm, but a new armada of twelve sail was organized in time to leave Seville in May of next year. In 1628 Piet Heyn captured the silver-fleet from Mexico intact in the Cuban harbour of Matanzas; but despite this unprecedented blow to the straitened Spanish economy, twenty-six galleons of the *Armada Real del Mar Oceano* and a number of other vessels were dispatched westwards instead of the annual fleets for Mexico and Tierra Firme next year. Even in years such as 1624-5, 1631, 1635 and 1638, when the Spaniards had to divert a high proportion of their naval and maritime strength to help the Portuguese against the Dutch in Brazil, they still managed to send surprisingly large convoys to their own American possessions. Even after the staggering disasters of the years 1639-41 (destruction of Oquendo's armada in the Downs; dispersal of Torre's off Pernambuco; revolt of Portugal and Catalonia; shipwreck of the bulk of the homeward-bound Mexico Fleet off the Bahamas; etc.) they managed to find the

wherewithal to send 37 sail to America in 1642, and 48 in 1643. The members of the *Casa*, the *Consulado* (Seville merchant-guild), and the *Consejo* were certainly experts at scraping the bottom of the barrel; and not the least interesting portions of *Séville et l'Atlantique* show us how often they were able to emulate the miracle of the loaves and fishes (if the reader will pardon the change of metaphor and the biblical allusion). Of course, as the authors point out, the decline of the *carrera* and the financial exhaustion of Spain did not mean, as is often erroneously assumed, that Spanish America was likewise in a state of economic stagnation or decay. On the contrary, it was progressing towards self-sufficiency both commercially and industrially. Mexico made a substantial contribution to the cost of the *Armada de Barlovento* from 1640 onwards, and by this time many merchants preferred to reinvest their money in America rather than bring it home to bankrupt Spain.

The foregoing random considerations reflect only a fraction of the numerous and important topics covered by the authors of this remarkable work. Their long familiarity with the exceptionally rich Seville archives and their outstanding qualifications as economic historians have enabled them to use their sources with a sureness and thoroughness which leave nothing to be desired. Half of the volumes are yet to come, to say nothing of their parallel work on the Pacific (*Le Pacifique des Ibériques dans l'économie mondiale, 1550-1650*) and the continuation of their Atlantic enterprise down to 1783, on both of which they are now actively engaged. But if an atomic bomb on Paris, or some other overwhelming disaster, should mean (*quod Deus avertat*) that not another line of their work would appear in print, these five volumes are in themselves sufficient to show that they have triumphantly succeeded in their declared aim: 'élaborer pour l'espace Atlantique, de 1504 à 1650, une interprétation statique aussi complète que les documents et les circonstances le permettent'. Moreover, this work is much more than an economic or a maritime history, massive though its contribution in both these respects is, for it is also a major contribution to the history of civilization.

The price of the complete set of ten volumes may be more than most members of our Society can afford; but obviously nobody who is concerned with conditions in the Atlantic world during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can neglect to consult *Séville et l'Atlantique* on numerous occasions. Interested readers should therefore urge their nearest institutional library to purchase these volumes. The money could not be better spent, as it is inconceivable that this work can ever be replaced as the primary authority on the subject of which it treats.

C. R. BOXER

PACIFIC ORDEAL. By KENNETH AINSLIE. Published by Rupert Hart-Davis, Soho Square, London. 8 x 5 inches. Price 16s. net.

When Captain Ainslie, in May 1947, was asked to take an ex-U.S. Navy rescue tug from Norfolk, Virginia, across the Pacific to Manila, he envisaged 'a restful cruise', with plenty of sunbathing in easy warm trade wind latitudes, taking probably about two months. He did not then know that he would be towing four minesweepers, with the aid of a most heterogeneous crew and with inadequate towing-gear; or his estimate might have been less rosy. The upshot was that he reached Iloilo on 3 December, with two surviving minesweepers, after what he mildly calls his 'toughest voyage in thirty-four years at sea'. In view of what had happened in the meantime, the marvel is that he ever made a port at all.

Engine trouble was perhaps the least of Captain Ainslie's worries, though it frequently played the devil with his calculations. The vagaries of the Pacific Ocean (what humorist invented that name?) caused his precious tows to part company with their parent ship time out of number. His ill-assorted crew were apt to go to war with one another, with a fine disregard of all consequences, probable or possible; and on one grim occasion armed mutiny appeared to be brewing. The Old Man was liable to be called on at any moment to play the physician and even the surgeon on the high seas—and they were high on the night of the operation.... Finally, the time wasted by the oft recurring need to turn back and chase recalcitrant minesweepers, generally in foul weather, brought about a fuel shortage so acute that it obliged him to adopt a most drastic course of action

in order to reach Palmyra Island before running dry. A drastic course, yet a reasonable one: but it gave rise in the event to the American Navy's 'biggest activity since the war'!

It was after his arrival at Palmyra that Captain Ainslie was faced, without a moment's warning, with his most awful predicament, and the account of his manner of dealing with it is as lucid and gripping as it is horrifying. No doubt every shipmaster is required to approve himself a jack, if not a master, of all trades; but there are limits to what a layman can do when confronted by sudden emergency. However, it would be unfair to enlarge on the nature of this catastrophic event: suffice it that the author tells the tale, as he coped with the situation, simply and objectively, finding neither pity nor praise for himself, though he had had to carry single-handed an almost intolerable burden of overwork and perplexity. On the other hand he is prompt to give credit where such is due; he refers to his ship's company at the end as 'a band of men who, starting out as fumbling incompetents, finished up as seamen whom I would not hesitate to ship again'. Seeing how some of them had acted, this is a generous tribute.

The book is well written and proof-read. It is illustrated by six admirable photographs and a good map of the Pacific, showing the daily positions of the memorable tow. A special word of praise is due to the dustcover, the explanation of the Jolly Roger's appearance thereon is one of the best things in a thoroughly fascinating work.

T. C. GERMAIN

TRAFalGAR. NAPOLEON'S NAVAL WATERLOO. By RENÉ MAINE. Translated by R. ELDON and B. W. ROBINSON. London: Thames and Hudson. 1957. Price 21s. (Book Society recommendation.)

Struck by the resemblance of the events of 1940 to those of 1803-5, the author has retold the story of the Trafalgar campaign in popular form. It is a disappointing book for there is little in it which was not better said by Desbrière and Corbett fifty years ago. A short account of the campaign from the French point of view, embodying with Desbrière's careful narrative the results of recent study in this country, would indeed have been of interest; but this the author has not given us. He mentions Jurien de la Gravière and Desbrière, but does not seem to have come across Laughton, Corbett or Carola Oman. He has, unhappily, read Southey; for he gives as an illustration of Nelson's 'implacable character' the story of the execution of Caracciolo concocted by Miss Williams, repeated by Southey, and disproved by Gutteridge fifty years ago. There are many errors both of interpretation and of fact. Page 216: 'Men were flogged, chained in the bilge or hanged at the yard-arm with carefree abandon. Hygiene was unknown, and food abominable. On every voyage more casualties were caused by dysentery, typhus and cholera than by gunfire. What, then, did it matter to such men whether they were drowned or killed by grape-shot, when they had abandoned all hope as soon as they had taken service in the fleet?' This—of the fleet of which Nelson could tell the Admiralty, 'scarcely a man in the Squadron confined to bed for any complaint whatever'.

The author gives us sketches of the characters of the French naval officers concerned; but one wonders whether they are any more reliable than that of Nelson.

A. H. TAYLOR

SEA SAINT: THE BUILDING AND SINGLE-HANDED MAIDEN VOYAGE OF AN OCEAN CRUISER. By IAN NICOLSON. Peter Davies, Ltd. 1957. 8 x 5½ inches. viii + 190 pages; 3 diagrams, 1 chart, 8 plates, 15 drawings in the text. Price 15s. net.

Ian Nicolson's book, while having a very strong yachting interest, will be a mine for the future student of nautical research, and almost a 'do-it-yourself' text-book for the potential ocean cruiser.

He had several reasons for his crossing; probably the best, and the most compelling, was that he wanted to do it. But the motive which raised him several notches in my estimation was, that

he is a professional designer and builder of yachts, and, quite simply by putting himself in the way of the most overwhelming strains he could find, he wanted to improve himself as a designer (or, possibly, rid the world of a hopelessly bad one). The book must tell the reader how triumphantly he passed the test. And, how much better would be our cars, and a thousand things of every-day use, if Mr Nicolson would only bite their designers!

The one piece of serious trouble on the passage, the author deals with very fully and very frankly. It was a serious rigging derangement, and neither he nor any of his more attentive readers will ever have that particular trouble again.

Incidentally, this incident does arouse for a new lease of life the very ripe topic for yachtsmen's arguments—is the Bermuda rig really safe for serious ocean sailing? The very tall and flexible mast, deprived of only one of its shrouds, was very much in the way of whipping itself out of the ship before anything could be done about it; a short stout gaff-rigged mast would have been quite steady. One's own view is that much could be done with a tripod lower mast without too large a bill.

Nicolson proves himself a real master at discarding the inessential, while never going in for the parish rigging indulged in by so many ocean cruisers when cash has been limited. As he proposed to sail from a Nova Scotian quay, and tie up first stop on Weymouth wharf, ground tackle did not enter into primary calculations; a forced change of plan was not, however, an impossibility, and he carried a most adequate anchor, which set him back \$2. The rather stark look of the accommodation, apparent from the illustrations, was part of the same technique, and the thing runs right through the book.

It is to be feared that the more masochistic reader of sea literature will miss his dose of horrors, of ravishing stowaways inexplicably turning up, of days of sewing rotten canvas, of failing supplies, and what not. They did not happen. Nicolson 'never felt fitter, better fed, more rested' than on arrival, exactly to plan, at Weymouth. *St Elizabeth* 'Looked unaltered, as if the Atlantic were no wider than the Channel'. The danger, of course, is that the whole thing will make the reader think himself a much better man than he is. 'If him, why not me?' But the answer to that will be clear after a careful reading of the book, and a little thought on the quite immense work, knowledge and forethought that went into the preparations for the crossing.

It will not perhaps be unduly carping to call attention to the one detected slip of the proof-reader; the barque *Passat* is called *Passant*—apparently from the mouth of an old boatswain of hers.

And—the index question. A review copy in my hands generally bears a reminder or two on the end-paper; this one is black with notes. What will in fact become a well-thumbed reference book in many libraries should have a fairly full index.

A final growl; Mr Nicolson is admittedly the perfect example of the man who really makes a patron Saint's work light; but, having gone to a great deal of trouble to get *St Elizabeth* blessed by the Church, and placed under her patronage, would not a public word of thanks in the right place have been nice to see?

In sum, this is a book fit to join the most select company; reading it is an experience of which no sailor, sea- or chair-borne, should deprive him or herself. There must be more books in Mr Nicolson, and they will be well worth waiting for.

A. J. L. HUGHES

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